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AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE EDUCATION OF
THE INDIANS OF TESLIN, YUKON TERRITORY

by



Edward Lester Bullen

A THESIS

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*The undersigned certify that they have read,
and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for
acceptance, a thesis entitled "An Historical Study of
the Education of the Indians of Teslin, Yukon Territory"
submitted by Edward Lester Bullen in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.*

ABSTRACT

In this thesis a study is made of the educational experiences of the Teslin Indians as related to their history over the past several generations. The study was undertaken in order to gain a perspective which may be helpful in considering the probable future educational needs and desires, not only of the Teslin Indians, but also of other Indians throughout the Yukon. To this end the thesis combines both historical and anthropological approaches and makes use of extensive field work.

Following an introductory chapter, in which an anthropological framework is erected, Part I, consisting of Chapters II, III, and IV, describes the geographic, demographic, and historical setting of Teslin. Much of what has been learned over the past twenty years about the ethnography of the Inland Tlingit is included in Chapters III and IV. Part II consists of the next three chapters in which three distinct Indian-white contact periods are described - largely from primary sources - and analyzed in anthropological terms. Part III then deals with the education of the Teslin Indians in relation to the three contact periods described in Part II. The work of the Anglican Mission School in Teslin is described as the native processes of enculturation gradually lost their relevance to life in a new age. The Chooutla Indian Residential

School (Anglican) and the Lower Post Indian Residential School (Roman Catholic) are described in historical terms. Finally, the State's greatly increased involvement with Indian education in the Yukon since World War II is described and considered.

A concluding Chapter attempts to analyze the present Teslin situation and suggests that a new period of culture contact is approaching in which the concept of acculturation, as popularly understood, will be inadequate as an anthropological guide to education. The concept of transculturation, advocated by Malinowski many years ago, is put forward as a better guide to use in the move towards a creative partnership between Indian-Canadians and Euro-Canadians in the development of the human and material resources of Canada's Northland.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was made possible by the assistance of many individuals. Sincere thanks are extended to the following: Dr. Catharine McClellan, who gave generously of the fruits of her own research in southern Yukon, and who "opened doors" to the homes of many Teslin Indians; the Rev. Robert Ward and Mr. Charles Taylor, who gave invaluable first-hand accounts of early days in Teslin; the many school, church, and government officials who freely answered questions and gave assistance; and the people of Teslin who co-operated in the project ungrudgingly.

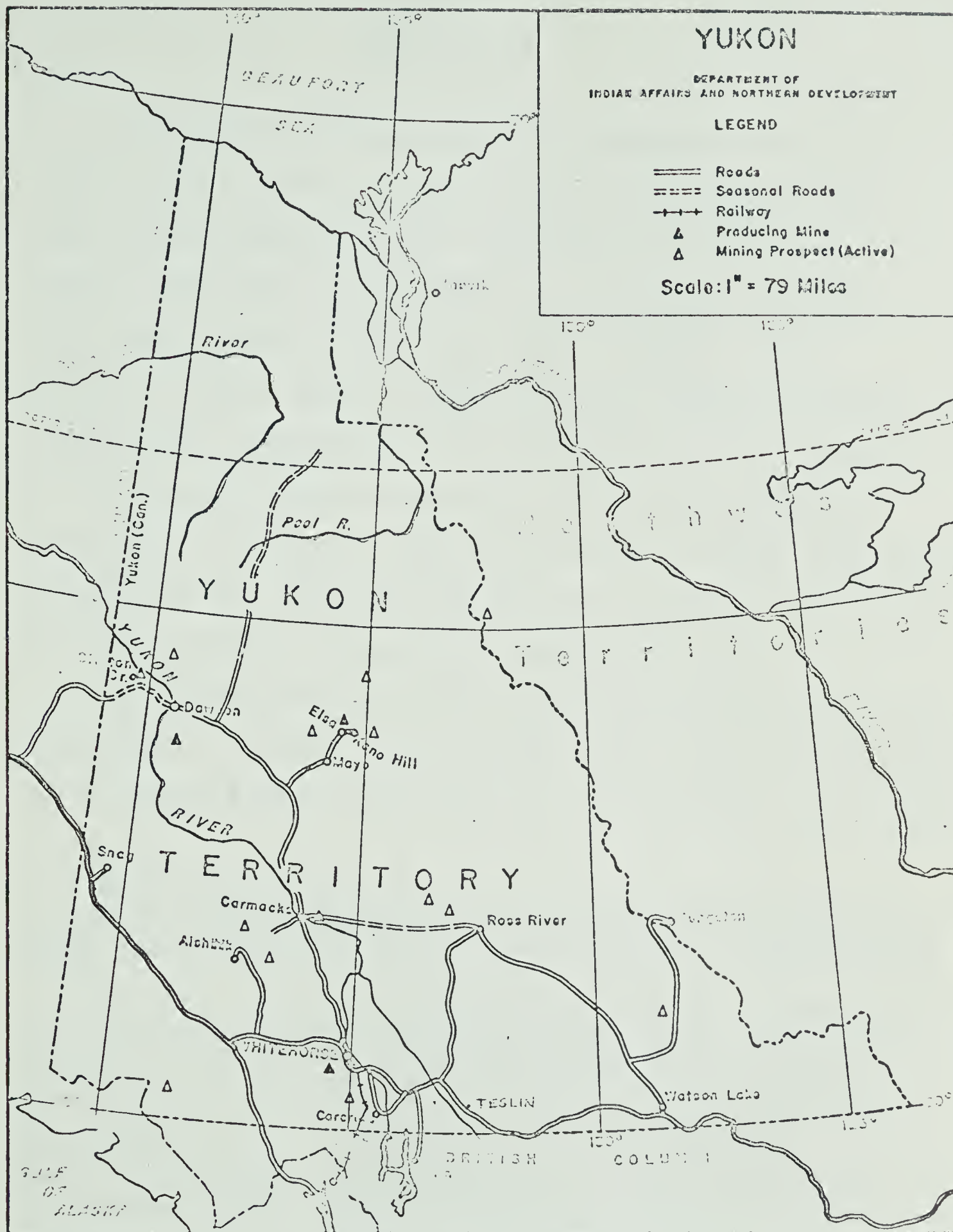
To the members of my committee, Dr. B. E. Walker, Dr. L. Gue, Dr. K. Thomson, and Dr. H. Garfinkle, special thanks are extended for their support and many helpful suggestions. Extra special thanks are extended to Dr. Thomson for his unfailing humanity and understanding in difficult times, and to Dr. Garfinkle for his most generous and constructive supervision and guidance.

Finally, thanks which cannot be expressed in words are due to my wife, whose assistance and encouragement in the field and during the writing of the thesis were beyond measure.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The genesis and development of the ideas involved in conceiving, planning, researching, writing and revising this thesis took place over a period of two years following my experiences in the Yukon as a teacher, counsellor and school administrator, from 1961 to 1966.¹ The original idea to write a thesis on Yukon Indian Education sprang from a concern with the problems faced by youngsters of Indian ancestry in school and in the wider society of the Yukon and Canada. They are problems of great complexity and difficulty, and there are few who have as yet come close to solving them in any kind of satisfactory way.

My own experiences in the Yukon began shortly after the Government of Canada, acting through the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, had embarked

¹ For those readers who may be initially disturbed at the use of personal pronouns in this thesis, I respectfully offer the following explanation for my choice of grammatical forms.

The forms were deliberately chosen as being appropriate to the frankly personal nature of the enquiry. They were also chosen to try to bring freedom from the annoyingly devious circumventions favoured by some writers who either do not wish to violate the dictates of current fashion or who honestly wish to maintain an aura of scientific objectivity for their observations. As much of the "data" used in this thesis comes from personal observation, and as it is my belief, with the backing of evidence from the findings of modern physics, that the observer is always and inevitably involved in his observations, that is, that the subjective and the objective are inextricably interwoven, it has seemed wise to use grammatical forms which least distort this belief and these findings.

on an ambitious new program of integrated education in Whitehorse public schools, in partnership with the Government of the Yukon Territory. Two large multi-million dollar hostels for Indian students had just been opened near to two new schools, one of which (the Selkirk Street Elementary School) had been jointly financed by the two governments. In a few years time a fine new high school and a vocational school were also built close to the hostels. Definitely a new day in the education of Yukon children of Indian ancestry had arrived.

No one, of course, expected that there would be no problems. No one believed in miracles and none were forthcoming. Yet progress was made despite the inevitable casualties along the way, and despite the sometimes heated controversies that arose over various aspects of the new program.

But more and more as time went by it became obvious that limiting factors of some sort were affecting the progress of the Indian students in school. To those who had studied minority group problems in education such limiting factors were not as surprising as to those who had not studied such problems (the great majority of teachers), yet for both groups the depth of their ignorance of specifically Yukon Indian minority problems placed them on an almost equal footing in spite of differences in degrees of surprise. Sincere attempts were made from time to time (especially at the Annual Teachers' Convention) by personnel of the Indian Affairs Branch to educate the teachers in Yukon Indian

culture and the problems of integration, but the overall effect of these efforts was negligible, especially in view of the very high teacher-turnover rate (40-50% per annum).

Returning to university, and reflecting on the problems of Yukon Indian education, I cast about for a suitable thesis topic. The magnitude of the problems of Yukon Indians soon forced me to look away from the broad scene in the Yukon to focus on one small community. The idea was presented to me that a study-in-depth of one community's educational experiences over the years of cultural change since white influences first became operative, would be of value in giving at least perspective to the present situation. It would be an indirect, but perhaps valid contribution to the study of Yukon Indian education in its present context. It is, therefore, in line with that suggestion that this thesis is presented.

The community chosen for study was Teslin, 110 miles south-east of Whitehorse down the Alaska Highway. It was a community, part Indian and part white, in which some aspects at least, of native culture were still alive. Being on the Alaska Highway it had experienced, since World War II, a fairly full-bodied culture contact from white society, yet memories of earlier periods of contact were still strong. The community had also experienced over the past 60 years a wide variety of directed educational influences in some half dozen or more different schools, some in the community and some away from the community.

The field work for the study was carried out in August and early September 1967. The investigations were guided by a minimum amount of planning. No specific theories or preconceived ideas formed the basis for asking questions, although at one point I did try to use an education questionnaire which I quickly abandoned in the face of obvious personal resentment. The *modus operandi* adopted was simply to try to get the feel of the Indian community, to try to get its pulse, and to try to enter into the thoughts, feelings, and memories of those who would let me in. For the most part, after an initial period of tension, my questions were answered reasonably freely, especially if they were not 'pushed' one after another, but rather casually interspersed with ordinary small-talk.

Other interviews with white people in Teslin, Whitehorse and elsewhere were conducted during August and September and correspondence exchanged with informants further afield after I had left the Yukon. Written anthropological and historical works were read and the writing of the thesis begun.

Theoretical Framework

The first draft was conceived largely as history written in a frankly personal and impressionistic way from the sources available. Before the writing of the final draft, however, the conviction grew that much of the material was suited to a treatment more in line with the science of cultural anthropology. Insofar as I have been able to place the historical material in the context of the constantly developing field of cultural anthropology, the thesis may be more

useful and suggestive to those who are looking for a deeper understanding of the present Yukon Indian situation. It may even be valuable for students of cultural anthropology, although that is not my first concern.

The anthropological framework which I have used to try to give some shape to the historical material is that developed in the United States by the Inter-University Summer Research Seminar, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council in 1956. In this seminar, six scholars who were then engaged in the study of cultural contact, met together to discuss the development of a system for analysing the responses of certain Indian groups which would be applicable to a general theory of acculturation. Six studies were presented which had a common systematic framework of investigation, considering the whole series of changes in the Indian ways of life, from the earliest contact with Europeans to the present. The conditions of change were described in each case and compared and related to the whole picture of cultural change. In his summing up, the editor, Edward H. Spicer, compared processes and conditions of contact and offered some generalizations towards the eventual formation of "an acceptable cross cultural analytical scheme".

"What we are concerned with in the study of culture contact", says Spicer, "are processes of social and cultural integration which the coming together of members of different societies sets in motion". "Every contact," Spicer goes on,

"involves some degree of social and cultural integration, but there is a wide range in what become more or less stablized situations with varying degrees of integration."²

Spicer sees, as a result of the seminar, different types of contact communities and different processes of cultural integration operating within them. By "contact community" the seminar meant "the social relations (considered in the widest sense) obtaining among the members of the societies in contact at any given time."³

The different types of contact communities were distinguished, first of all, as "directed" or "non-directed". This distinction between directed and non-directed situations was first noted by Ralph Linton⁴, and, according to Spicer, is basic in any attempt to develop generalizations in the field of acculturation.

In directed contact the two societies "are interlocked in such a way that the participants in one social system are subject not only to sanctions in their own but also to those operative in other systems. . . Further, if the situation is

² Edward H. Spicer (ed.), Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change, (The University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 519.

³ Ibid., p. 525.

⁴ Ralph Linton, (ed.), Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, (D. Appleton, Century Company Inc., 1940), p. 501.

one of directed contact, members of the superordinate society have an interest in changing the behaviour of members of the subordinate society in particular ways. The interest may be limited to a single feature, or it may be ramified to the whole range of cultural behaviour. Whatever the extent or intensity of interest of the superordinate society, the members of the subordinate society are in some degree subject to influence not only from their own culture but also from another . . . in this way, a situation of directed contact is one in which the change which takes place has determinants from two distinct cultural systems."⁵

In contrast to the directed type of contact situation is the non-directed in which neither society is in a superordinate position over the other. "There is interaction between members of the different societies, as in directed situations, but there is no control of one society's members by the other. Hence the effective influence of the interests, sanctions, and values of each culture is confined to a single society."⁶ Diffusion or transfer of cultural items from one society to the other may occur, but such innovations for a particular society are accepted and integrated in accordance with the cultural interests and principles of integration obtaining in that society.

In a directed contact situation two conditions are distinguishable. First, the superordinate society must want

⁵ Spicer, op. cit., p. 520

⁶ Ibid.

to change the cultural behaviour of members of the subordinate society, and second, the superordinate society must have the power to effect the desired change. If both of these conditions are not met the situation may be treated as non-directed contact, although "whenever the superordinate society is interested in changing some features of culture, the total situation is best treated as one of directed contact, for it may be assumed that there will be some relation between what happens in the areas not under attack and what happens in those that are."⁷

In the six studies considered by the seminar, five types of contact community were distinguished at what Spicer calls "the generic level". These were called as follows: (1) Spanish missionary (2) fur trade (3) United States reservation (4) Canadian reservation (5) urban segment. The labels used not only gave rather concrete images of community forms, but could be interpreted as taking into account, in some degree at least, three important factors, namely linkage, role pattern and sanctions, and structural stability. It was with these three factors that the seminar found repeated variation giving rise to the five descriptive titles of contact communities listed above. By linkage was meant "the nature of the structural linkage with the dominant society, whether ecclesiastical, political, economic, or other, and the nature of the combination of these different institut-

⁷ Ibid., p. 521.

ional linkages."⁸ By role pattern and sanctions was meant "the kinds of roles, with their accompanying sanctions, assumed by members of the superordinate society in the contact communities."⁹ And by structural stability was meant "the nature of the subordinate society's social structure in terms of stability, whether new types of communities were in process of formation or not."¹⁰

The point of all this is that contact communities can be described not only as directed or non-directed but also in terms more descriptive of, or at least relating to, the three variable factors discussed above. It represents an attempt at developing a typology of contact communities. At the generic level of description one may choose any terminology which seems useful, keeping in mind the distinguishing factors. These distinguishing factors, it would seem, because of qualitative variations, could give rise to a whole series of permutations and combinations, and the number of differing contact communities would become infinite. But although each contact community is unique, each can be to some degree typed, just as individuals can be typed according to age, sex, nationality and so on. Having in mind a typology of contact communities should sensitize cultural anthropologists to changes in contact communities through time, as cultures in contact interact. As we shall see for Teslin there were several changes in the type of contact community

⁸ Ibid., p. 525. ⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰ Ibid.

over the years in which we consider the influence of education.

As was said earlier, Spicer saw, as a result of the seminar discussions, not only different types of contact communities but also different processes of cultural integration operating within them. It is to these different processes we now turn.

The seminar participants distinguished five different processes of cultural integration, or four if we discount the first one as being not quite in the same category as the other five. These five processes are as follows: (1) additive integration (2) Incorporative integration (3) fusional integration (4) isolative integration (5) assimilation.

Additive integration occurred during the initial phases of contact regardless of the specific forms of contact, whether directed or non-directed. This type of integration was simply an extensive taking over of material items and formal elements of cultural behaviour offered by the potentially superordinate society. It resulted in what could be described as an augmented culture of the receiving society. However, after a kind of initial "honeymoon" period, the process soon gave way to one of the other processes. The additive process, Spicer says, "seems important to note as an instable condition characteristic of initial contacts between Indians and Europeans before the crystallization of clearly structured contact relations."¹¹

¹¹ Ibid., p. 540.

Incorporative integration was a type of tradition combination which flourished under conditions of non-directed contact. It meant the transfer of elements from one culture system and their integration into another system in such a way that they conformed to the meaningful and functional relations within the latter. The social system of the society doing the incorporating remained fundamentally unchanged and with essentially the same values, despite the enrichment of content. Nothing important in the cultural system is replaced. "In other words, incorporative integration is a type of tradition combination which results in totally new forms being accepted into a culture in such a way that they enhance the existing organization of that culture."¹² "This process is not one", says Spicer, "which operates ordinarily under conditions of directed contact."¹³ Once directed contact is established, incorporative integration is supplanted by some other process, at least in those areas of culture where directed influences are strong and important."¹⁴

Fusional integration was seen as a type of integration in which elements of two or more distinct cultural traditions were combined into a single system in terms of principles of combination not the same as those governing the cultural

¹² Ibid., p. 530.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

systems from which they came. This process may result in a variety of combinations of form and meaning, a common one being the combination of forms from the dominant society with meanings from the subordinate. "The essential is that whatever the specific form of combination, the principles which guide it are neither wholly from one or the other of the two systems in contact."¹⁵

Isolative integration involves a keeping-separate within a realm of meaning of elements and patterns taken over from the dominant culture. "In isolative integration the accepted elements lack linkage with other complexes, despite serving very similar or identical functions. The lack of linkage leads to their being isolated within the culture in a distinct subsystem of meanings, hence the term 'isolative integration'."¹⁶ Another term which could be used to describe this type of integration would be compartmentalization.

Assimilation is a type of integration in direct contrast to incorporative integration. It involves acceptance of meanings as well as forms, in terms of the dominant society's cultural system. No harmonizing or modifications are involved, only selection from alternatives in the dominant culture. It is a replacive form of integration. Assimilation may be thought of as the opposite pole to

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 533.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 534.

incorporation in the processes of contact change.

Incorporation, fusion, compartmentalization and assimilation are cultural processes. There are also processes of social integration. The seminar did not give names to these social processes, except in one case, but noted that social processes were sometimes not at all like the cultural processes even though there were some superficial resemblances. The one social process to be given a name was biculturalism.

This was described as a social process operating to encourage and permit dual participation in cultural systems. One researcher called it the process leading to part-time Indian Culture. "The condition fundamental for the development of biculturalism is one which permits or encourages enculturation of individuals in the subordinate society in the patterns of the superordinate. There must further be opportunities for exercising those behaviours so learned in continuing situations in such a way as to insure continued practice in them."¹⁷ Once biculturalism was established, Spicer notes that Indian parents participated in the teaching of both cultures to their children.

In the contact situations investigated by the seminar it was seen that sometimes all the processes we have described would be in simultaneous operation, but that it

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 536.

was much more usual for one process to be dominant at any one time, with other processes less prominent. Patterns of response to contact conditions once established, however, did seem to persist past the points in time where the contact situation changed. The important consideration which the researchers saw was the need "to determine the limits in terms of contact conditions within which the given type of integration process can continue to operate."¹⁸ Once these limits were reached it occurred in many cases that easy transitions were made from the dominance of one process to another.

The analytical scheme put forward by Spicer and his associates in the Inter-University Summer Research Seminar may help to give form to some of the historical material presented in this thesis, particularly to the material in the Chapters following Chapter IV. It is hoped that it may help to focus the reflections of readers who are looking for practical clues in the on-going contact situation of today with particular reference to education.

The presentation of material in the following chapters will follow a pattern as follows: There will be nine chapters, apart from the conclusion, divided into three parts of three chapters each. Part I will give: first, the setting of

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 538.

Teslin and the present demographic picture of the Yukon; second, the coastal antecedents of the Teslin people; and third, the experiences of the Teslin people in the interior following their migration from the coast. The second and third chapters of this part will be mainly ethnographical and will show that before white contact, the ancestors of today's Teslin people were themselves involved throughout the 19th century in processes of acculturation, of inter-tribal integration and cultural change. Part II will then give an account of three main Indian-white contact situations: the first from initial white contact up to 1903, the second from 1903 to 1942, and the third from 1942 to the present. Part III will then follow with three chapters devoted to education as related to the three contact periods described in Part II.¹⁹ Finally in the last chapter, an attempt will be made to reach some conclusions relevant to the material presented and to the present and probable future culture situation in the Yukon as it relates to education.

The main theme of the thesis is cultural integration related to education. It is perhaps appropriate to such a theme that the writing of it involves its own inner dynamics of cultural integration, for the attempt to merge historical writing in the tradition of the humanities with anthropological analysis in the tradition of science represents a process of cultural fusion in its own right. It is perhaps hoping for much that the process of fusion can,

¹⁹ See appendix C for a brief account of the field work on which Chapters V - X are largely based.

in the end, change to a process of incorporation, in which science as one of the great humanities comes home to that from which it sprang, bringing its riches with it.

I do not wish to suggest by this that the tools of science should not be brought to bear on the human as well as the material aspects of life. The social sciences have their rightful place and can add immeasurably to human welfare. Our debt to them is already great. But what I wish to guard against is the tendency of science in this present age to claim too much. Too often the limitations of science are forgotten, and in the process human life loses some of its deepest and most precious values. Indeed there is a sense in which we can agree with the extreme statement of William Blake, that "science is death".

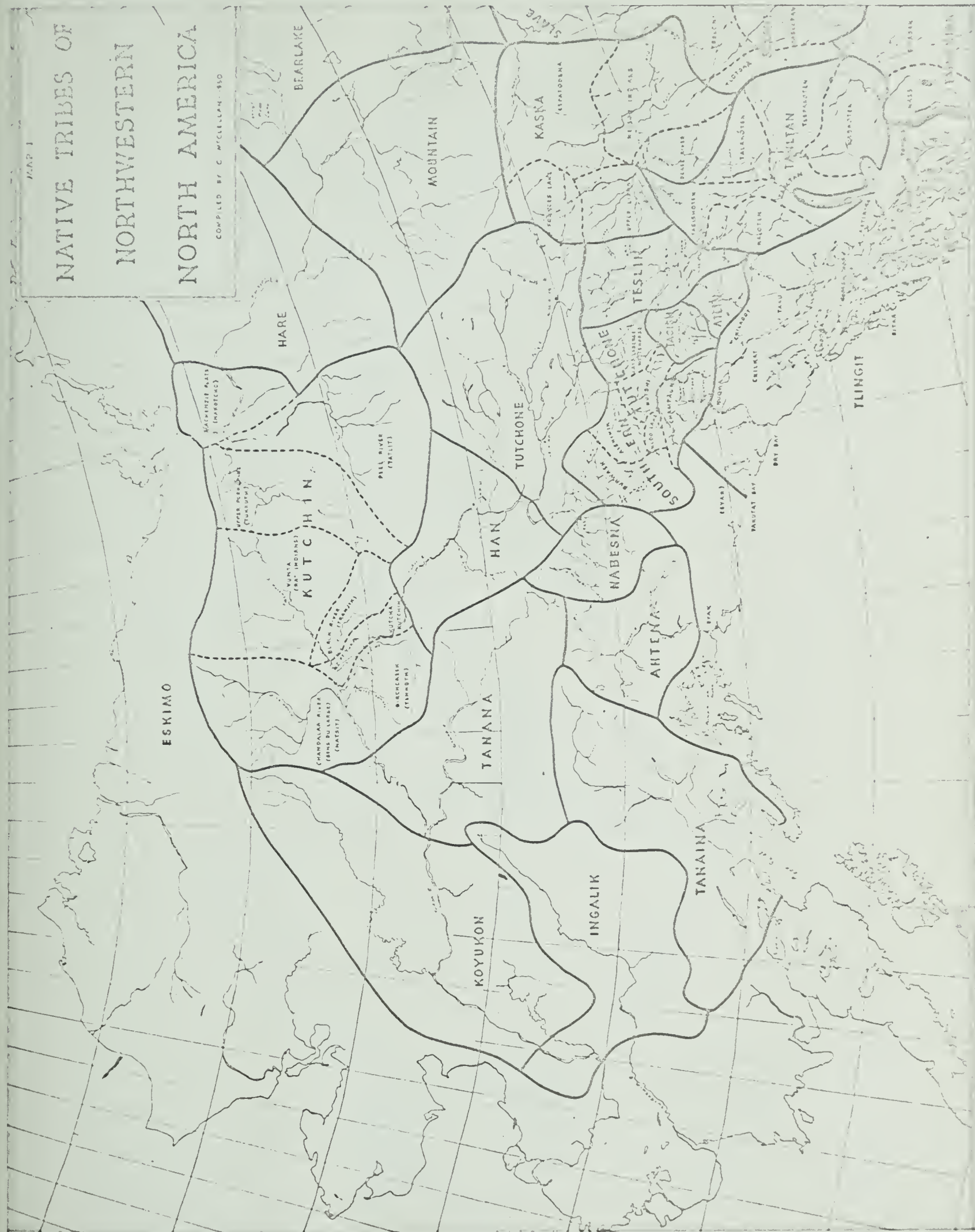
There is, in spite of that, however, the contrary danger that the contributions of science, both past and potential, may not be valued enough. But if I judge the present spirit of our North American society correctly it would seem that this latter danger is the lesser of the two at this moment of human evolution. Opinions no doubt will vary on this according to personal bias, but at any rate it would seem right that everyone who cares about it should frankly state his point of view.

C.P. Snow's book, *The Two Cultures*, has received a great deal of critical comment, the amount of which is perhaps a measure of the importance of the subject with which he

tries to deal, however, inadequate some people may feel his treatment to be. It is some years now since that book came out, however, and discussion of the important issues with which it deals has sometimes seemed to lag, despite the fact that these issues have not been clearly resolved. It may well be that the groping of anthropological science in the field of culture contact will provide the analytical tools needed to resolve these issues in a way satisfactory for human society. But they will be tools - and human beings, not machines, must use them: in the end personal judgements must decide the issues.

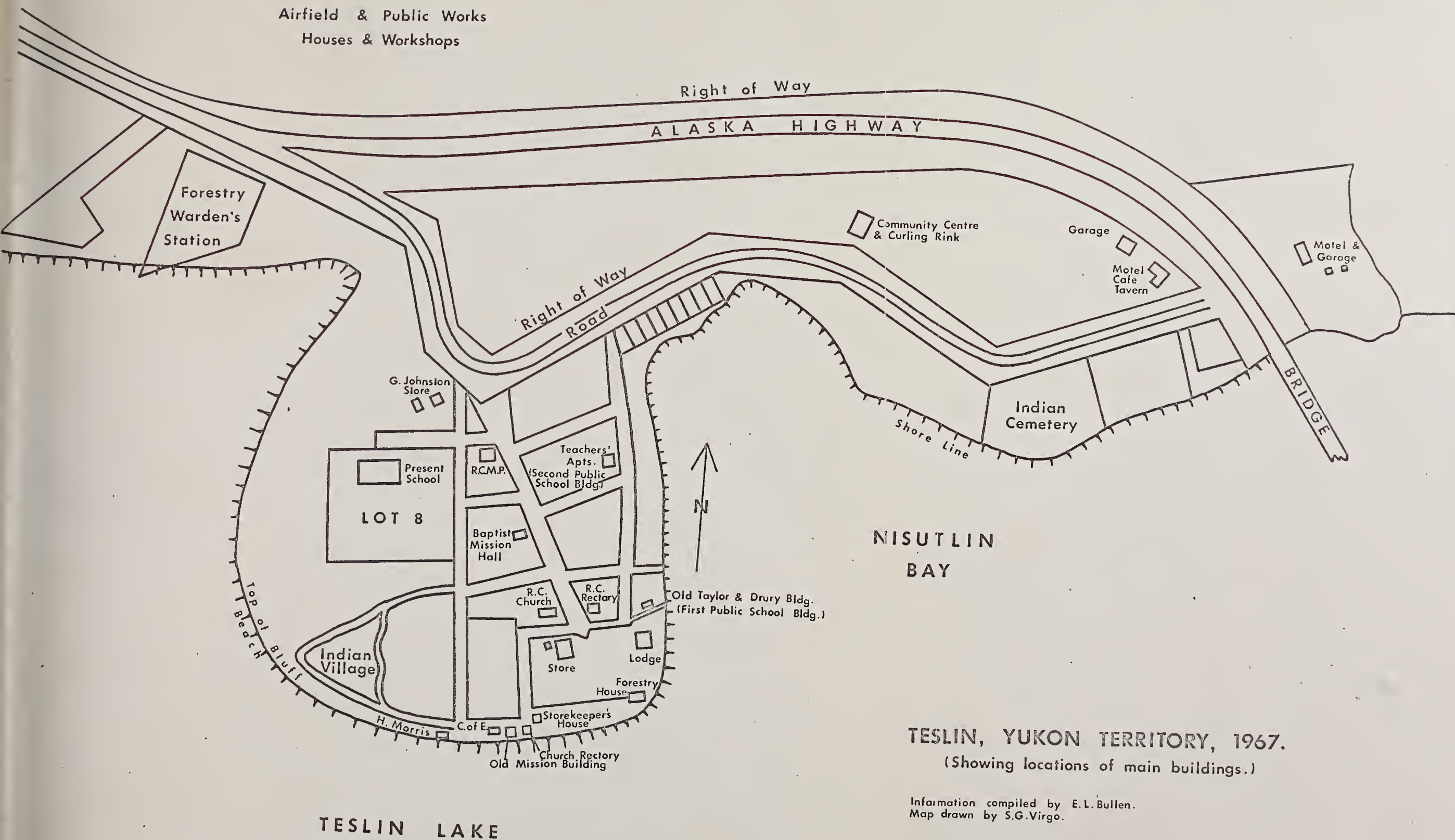
It will now perhaps be clear that in addition to the main theme running through this thesis there will be a second subordinate theme, running for the most part faintly in the background. If the counterpoint is not always harmonious, I can at least hope that the result will reflect something of the disharmony in the lives of many Indians in the Yukon today. For a widespread awareness of that disharmony is a necessary condition for its eventual resolution into chords more satisfying for all the people of the Yukon and of Canada.

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Information compiled by E.L.Bullen.
Map drawn by S.G.Virgo.



PART A

THE GEOGRAPHIC, DEMOGRAPHIC, AND HISTORICAL SETTING

This part of the thesis will be devoted to a description of the geographic, demographic, and historical setting of Teslin. In Chapter II, the setting of Teslin itself, within the larger setting of the Yukon Territory, will be described from both the geographic and demographic points of view. In Chapters III and IV, the broad outlines of the history of the Inland Tlingit will be presented, first on the seaward side of the Coast Range, and secondly on the dry interior plateau after the migration inland in the middle of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY

I. THE TESLIN SETTING

The setting of Teslin, within the wider setting of the Yukon Territory, could be described from two perspectives, Indian and Euro-Canadian. The Euro-Canadian description, stressing objective facts of the physical and sociological environment, would inevitably proceed from a cultural world-view quite different from the world-view of the Indian. To the extent, then, of this difference in perspective, the two descriptions would differ.

From the standpoint of this thesis, which is an attempt to gain understanding of the educational experience of Teslin Indians over the past few generations, both descriptions would be helpful. Yet, in the nature of things, a description from the Indian perspective could only be successfully accomplished by an Indian. It follows, therefore, that the description of Teslin which I shall attempt to give, can only provide a partial view of the reality which surrounds the Indian people in their daily lives. It is important to realize this. For once it is understood that the reality is greater and more complex than any one verbal description of it, however sensitively the objective and subjective 'facts' are interwoven in that description, the way is open for the perception of that multidimensional reality at which words can only hint.

The Indian village of Teslin is situated on the south-west side of a small peninsula which juts out into Nisutlin Bay on Teslin Lake. (See Map II, p.19) The village consists of some forty small dwellings, loosely clustered together over about six or seven acres of level ground, thirty feet or so above lake level. (See Map III, p.20) In the summer of 1967, four of these buildings were vacant, one of them being regularly used and maintained as a village hall. Nearby, on the north-west side of the peninsula, is the public school and rough gravel playground, screened from the village by small trees and bushes. Here also are a couple of Indian dwellings and the George Johnstone store. The school is only three years old on its present site, and not, therefore, for most of the period with which this thesis deals, part of the historical landscape. Also nearby, on the south side of the peninsula, are the Anglican Church and Rectory, and the old (now unused) Anglican Mission School.

Running approximately north and south down the centre of the peninsula, is a surveyor's line which divides the Indian village-reserve from the east side of the peninsula. On this eastern side are located the R.C.M.P. barracks, a general store and store-keeper's home, the Nisutlin Bay Lodge, the Forestry Department house, the Roman Catholic Church and Mission House, a small building used periodically by the Baptist Church, the Public School teachers' apartment building (formerly the public school from 1951 to 1964), and some half dozen or so dwellings occupied by families of mixed

Indian-white backgrounds. In addition, on the north-east side of the peninsula, are located the curling rink and recreation hall, (controlled by the white members of the community) and, close to the legendary beach-site of a tragic battle with the Tahltan people a century ago, amidst the quiet of lovely trees and mild undergrowth, the cherished graves of the Teslin Indians.

Skirting the peninsula to the north is the Alaska Highway which reaches across Nisutlin Bay from the east by an impressive seven-span steel and concrete bridge. Here are located two motels and a garage-filling station. The two motels each have cafés attached, and one of them a beer parlour, or tavern.

About a mile to the west of this "filling-station" area lie the Department of Transport airstrip and Department of Public Works garages and employee houses. About a dozen white families live here. Across the highway to the south of the airstrip, and close to the lake, are a small forestry camp, and four or five Métis homes.

This, then, is Teslin, which in 1961, according to the census figures, had 135 Indian and 96 white people (and an unknown number of dogs) living in it. The natural setting of the community is very picturesque, and the surrounding country nothing short of breathtakingly beautiful. Across the shimmering summer waters of Teslin Lake to the south-east stand the Dawson peaks, popularly known as "The Three Acres" (actually there are four peaks). These dominate the scene from the Indian village, and though their colour

changes with the seasons, they stand very much, one may think, as the "everlasting hills" amidst the confusing sociological and technological changes which have engulfed the Teslin people in the middle of the twentieth century.

Previous to the coming of the Alaska Highway in 1942, Teslin village was 'home' for the Teslin Indians only in the summer - from May until late August. For the rest of the year they were spread out on their trap-lines. The "territory" of the Teslin band spread over many hundreds of square miles, from the headwaters of the Taku River in the Coast Range to the south, to the drainage into the Pelly River to the north; and from the Liard River drainage area in the east to the range of mountains just west of Teslin Lake, easily visible about twenty to thirty miles away from Teslin village. The total area exploited was about 15,000 square miles.¹ (See Map I, p.18).

In the residual community of Teslin today, although only a very few still go out to trap in winter, the "setting" for the older Teslin people nevertheless includes the territory over which they formerly roamed every year. It is "theirs" still, though the memory, and the meaning of it, grow dim. For the younger Teslin people of today, however, the "setting" of their village, within the wider setting of the Yukon Territory, more closely corresponds, in their minds, with the more objective reality of the modern geographer's description. They feel themselves much more a part of the Yukon Territory as a whole.

¹ C. McClellan, 1967, ms., p.126.



Plate No. 1. Teslin Peninsula and the
Nisutlin Bay Bridge.



Plate No. 2. The approach to Teslin
Indian Village.



Plate No. 3. Teslin Indian Village
showing street lamps and
caches on stilts (extreme right).



Plate No. 4. Teslin Indian Village
showing a "street" of
log and frame houses.



Plate No. 5.

View of the "Three Aces"
looking down Teslin Lake
towards Johnstown from
Teslin Indian Village.



Plate No. 6.

St. Philip's Anglican
Church, Teslin.



Plate No. 7. The Roman Catholic
Church and Hall, Teslin.



Plate No. 8. The Roman Catholic Priests'
House and Chapel, Teslin.



Plate No. 9. Motel, Cafe, and
Tavern, Teslin.



Plate No. 10. Department of Transport
and Department of Public
Works houses, Teslin.

II. YUKON GEOGRAPHY

Physiography

The Yukon is a land of austere beauty, of hills and high mountains, of swift streams and broad sweeping valleys cut by great rivers. The main physiographic feature is the Yukon Plateau, 2,000 to 3,000 feet high, drained by the Yukon River and its tributaries. It is an area of rolling uplands, deep valleys, and isolated mountain ranges which reach, in some places, 4,000 - 5,000 feet above the plateau 'floor'. The plateau is walled by higher mountains on three sides: on the north by the Ogilvie Range, on the east by the Mackenzie Mountains, and on the west by the St. Elias and Coast ranges. Many peaks, especially in the St. Elias Range, reach over 10,000 feet above sea level. Mt. Logan (19,850 feet), in the south-west corner of the territory, is the highest peak in Canada.

There are two other plateaus besides the Yukon Plateau. The Peel Plateau, drained by the Peel and Porcupine rivers, extends to the north, while in the extreme south-east lies a smaller plateau drained by the Liard River.

Climate

The climate of the Yukon Territory is characterized by wide variations in temperature from year to year. The coldest winter months have averaged from 40° to 50° below zero Fahrenheit while in other years these same months have had average temperatures above zero.

The geographic location of the Yukon is one of the chief reasons for these marked variations in temperature. Because

the Territory extends from the proximity of the relatively warm Pacific to the cold Arctic Ocean, it is difficult to generalize on the climate of the whole region. When cold air masses from the Arctic Ocean settle over the Yukon, temperatures drop rapidly and remain very low. When these cold air masses move on to the eastward, warm air from the north Pacific Ocean fills in behind and winter temperatures may be relatively mild. Winter temperatures vary, therefore, from month to month and from year to year, in accordance with the frequency and duration of these cold air mass invasions. Mean winter temperatures range from 0° Fahrenheit in January at Carcross to minus 21° at Dawson. An extreme minimum temperature of minus 81° Fahrenheit was recorded at Snag in 1947.

Summer temperatures vary also according to the predominant air mass movements. Days can be quite hot when air from the Pacific Ocean or Alaska lies over the Yukon, but quite cool when Arctic air moves in. Maximum temperatures reach 80° to 85° in mid-summer. The record high is 95° at Dawson City.

The southern Yukon has an average of 75 frost-free days annually. The last spring frost occurs, on the average, in early June and the first autumn frost in mid - or late August. Annual precipitation is low because the high barrier of the St. Elias Mountains to the southwest cuts off moist air from the Pacific. Total annual precipitation averages 9 to 13 inches. Of this, 35 to 50 per cent occurs during the four summer months.

Flora

White spruce is the most common tree in the Yukon, and along with lodgepole pine, aspen and balsam poplar, white birch, black spruce, and tamarack, cover most of the valleys and depression areas of the boreal forest region. The absolute timber line varies from about 5,000 feet above sea level in the south to about 4,000 feet or less at latitude 65° north. The limit of merchantable growth is at least 1,500 feet below the timber line.

Wildflowers grow in great abundance almost everywhere. Nearly 500 varieties of flowers, ferns, and shrubs have been identified. The most common species is fireweed, which is the floral emblem of the Territory.

Fauna

Moose, caribou, bear, mountain sheep, mountain goat, and numerous fur-bearing animals abound. Fur-bearers include beaver, ermine (weasel), mink, marten, wolverine, muskrat, otter, lynx, and fox. Wolves are also fairly numerous.

Game birds include grouse, willow ptarmigan, and rock and white-tailed ptarmigan. Canada Geese breed along the main tributaries of the Yukon River, and swans are found in the Pelly River region. Several species of duck have been identified, and predators such as the bald eagle, hawk owl, and red-tailed hawks are found in some districts.

Fish are in abundance. Lake trout and white fish are more than plentiful in many of the larger lakes in the southern Yukon. Arctic grayling, northern pike, and Rainbow trout are other common species.

III. THE SETTING OF TESLIN WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY

The Yukon is a "big country", and yet, since it became a separate territory in 1898, it has become increasingly easy for the imagination to grasp it as a separate "place", unified by improved transportation and communication facilities, and by centralized administrative control. Over the past seventy years, the "setting" of Teslin within the larger setting of the Yukon (and, indeed, of Canada itself and the whole world) has not only changed in fact, but the awareness of the setting has also changed for the Teslin people. The young, in particular, have progressively developed an increased awareness of their setting more resembling that of the white population which has grown and shrunk, and grown again, amongst and around them. There has been a progressive expansion of horizons for the Teslin people over the period with which this thesis deals. The schools have played their part in this broadening of horizons, along with improved transportation facilities, radio, and motion pictures.

Comment

It is important to emphasize, I think, before going on to analyze the population of the Yukon, that the subjective reality of the setting in which their lives have been lived has varied greatly for different age groups of the Teslin people, over the past 60 years. These differences in the subjective reality of the setting play a significant part, I believe, in the discontinuity of experience which has suddenly come upon them in this century.

IV. THE POPULATION OF THE YUKON TERRITORY

It is proposed now, to analyze, chiefly from information recorded in the Canada Census Tables, the main characteristics of the population of the Yukon Territory. It is hoped that this analysis will help the reader to assay, from the context of the present demographic situation, the ethnographic and historical material of subsequent chapters. It may help to give a platform in the present from which to view the broad sweep, and significant details, of the past.

It would be well, however, before beginning, to emphasize the fact that the Canada Census Tables have definite limitations as source material for a demographic study of the Yukon. First of all, they do not record any information on the thousands of tourists who yearly make their pilgrimage of adventure to one of North America's last and most romantic "frontiers". These tourists may each spend only a few weeks in the Yukon, yet their influence is not negligible either in terms of money spent (tourism is of considerable importance to the Yukon economy) or in terms of "culture-contact". Secondly, the Census Tables do not record any information on the hundreds of summer workers who migrate north each spring with the swallows and geese. Exploration companies both large and small, including some of the "giants" of western capitalism, spend "big money" each year in the Yukon, as part of the world's insatiable search for the raw materials of modern industry. The feverish and fabled search for gold of yesterday has given way today to the calculated, costly

search for base metals and petroleum. Both tourism and exploration, then, bring some of the "outside"² in to the Yukon each summer, changing the demographic picture. Then, thirdly, the Census Tables do not record any information on the transience of the population. For example, there may be 729 white people recorded as living in a certain community in 1956 and 800 white people recorded as living in the same community in 1961, but the Census Tables do not record the fact that 600 of the 800 may be newcomers since 1956 and that 529 people may have left the community in the five-year period, 1956-61. Finally, many of the Census Tables which might be useful for such a study as this cannot be used because statistics for the Yukon are "lumped together" with those for the Northwest Territories. With these limitations in mind, then, we will "look at" the population of the Yukon, as revealed by the Census and other data.

Total population and "living space".

The following table shows the total population changes since 1901.

TABLE 1³

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1901	27,219	23,084	4,135
1911	8,512	6,508	2,004
1921	4,157	2,819	1,338
1931	4,230	2,825	1,405
1941	4,914	3,153	1,761
1951	9,096	5,457	3,639
1956	12,190	6,924	5,266
1961	14,628	8,178	6,450

² A Yukon term referring to anywhere outside the Yukon.

³ Canada Census, 1961, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Table 12.

POPULATION 1901-1966

Yukon Territory

*Preliminary Estimate, 1966

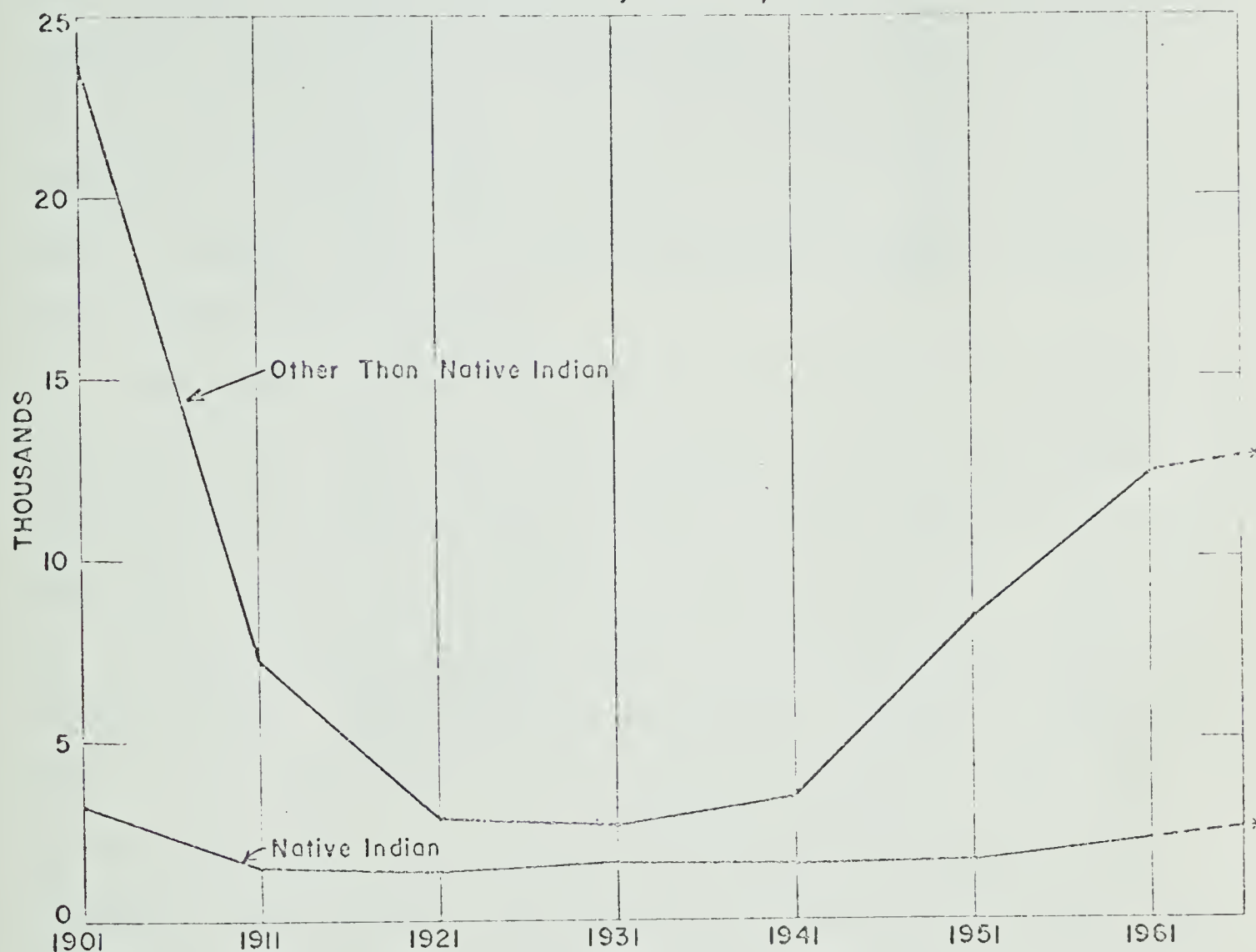


Figure 1.

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics

This graph is reproduced from "The Yukon Today",
(The Queens Printers, Ottawa 1968), p. 3.

By 1901 the population was already declining from the peak of 40,000 - 50,000 reached during the height of the Klondike Gold Rush, 1898-1900. Males outnumbered females 5 1/2 to 1, but from 1901 onward there was a steady decline in this disparity, until by 1961 the male to female ratio was reduced to approximately 5 to 4. The total population remained almost static from World War I to World War II. An upsurge began in 1942 with the building of the Alaska Highway by American Army engineers. Since then there has been a steady rise as a more diversified mining industry and tourism has developed.

Some idea of the 'emptiness' of the Yukon can be gained from the fact that the total area is 207,076 square miles, of which 205,346 square miles is land. This represents 5.4% of the total land area of Canada, giving a population density of 0.07 persons per square mile, or one person for every 14 square miles. But even this impressive statistic does not give a true impression of the emptiness of the Yukon, for as the next table will show, nearly half the population today is concentrated in Whitehorse, the capital, while the rest is largely concentrated in small settlements of from 50 to 900 people. Outside Whitehorse and these few settlements, the population density of the Yukon could perhaps be better appreciated if one compared it to the population density on the moon after the first few astronauts have landed.

Population of incorporated and unincorporated places of 50 persons and over, for 1956 and 1961.

TABLE II⁴

<u>Name of Place</u>	<u>Population</u>	
	<u>1956</u>	<u>1961</u>
Aishihik	58	61
Bear Creek	121	138
Beaver Creek	41	96
Burwash Landing	45	57
Calumet	366	377
Carcross	176	175
Carmacks	130	218
Champagne	55	56
Dawson City	851	881
Destruction Bay	101	104
Dominion	(1)	76
Elsa	247	395
Haines Junction	114	199
Keno Hill	190	156
Mayo	249	342
Mile 733 (Alaska Hwy.)	(1)	50
Mile 921	38	155
Old Crow Village	173	217
Pelly Crossing	89	151
Ross River	178	132
Sulphur	54	54
Teslin	254	231
Upper Liard	119	199
Watson Lake	237	597
Whitehorse	2,570	5,031
Totals:	6,456	10,168

(In the table above, (1) indicates that no information was recorded.

In addition to these 25 'places', the 1961 tabulation for the whole of the Yukon (see Appendix A) revealed 97 other 'places' where one or more persons lived. Of these 97 'places,' 58 were inhabited by less than ten people, and 39 by 10-49 people. We can therefore summarize the

⁴ Compiled from (a) Census of Canada (Population), 1961, Bulletin Sp-4, p.73. and (b) Canada Census, 1961, Vol.1, p.138.

population "clusters" of the Yukon, in 1961, as follows:

TABLE III

<u>Population of Place</u>	<u>No. of "Places"</u>
Under 10	58
10 - 50	39
50 - 100	7
100 - 250	12
250 - 500	3 (Elsa, Calumet and Mayo)
500 - 1,000	2 (Dawson City & Watson Lake)
1,000 - 5,000	0
Over 5,000	<u>1</u> (Whitehorse)
Total number of "places"	122

Table I revealed that the total population of the Yukon grew from 12,190 in 1956 to 14,628 in 1961. Table II reveals that not only was this population increase general amongst the communities of 50 or more people, (only 2 of the 25 communities had a decrease, and one remained the same), but that there was a definite movement towards greater urbanization. The 6,456 persons, who, in 1956, lived in communities of 50 or over, represented 53% of the total population of the Yukon, whereas the 10,168 persons who lived in such communities in 1961 represented 70% of the total population.

Birth rates, death rates, and rates of natural increase of population.

TABLE IV⁵
(per 1,000 population)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Birth Rate</u>		<u>Death Rate</u>	<u>Rate of Natural Increase</u>	<u>Canadian Average</u>
	<u>Yukon</u>	<u>Can. Avg.</u>			<u>for Natural Increase</u>
1941-5	21.0	23.5	19.3	1.7	13.7
1946-50	31.7	27.4	11.4	20.3	18.1
1951-55	43.0	28.0	9.4	33.6	19.5
1956-60	39.4	27.6	7.1	32.3	19.6
1960	38.4	26.8	6.9	31.5	19.0
1961	38.1	26.1	6.4	31.7	18.4
1962	36.5	25.3	5.0	31.5	17.6

Since 1951 the Yukon birth rate has been 11.2 to 15.0 births per 1,000 higher than the Canadian average, while her death rate has steadily declined from 9.4 to 5.0 deaths per 1,000. The rate of natural increase, in the same period, has been 12.5 to 14.1 per 1,000 higher than the national average. On the basis of these figures, we may calculate roughly for the years 1956-61, using a natural rate of increase of 32 per 1,000, on an average population base of 13,000, that the population increased approximately by 2080 through natural growth. The actual increase of population from 1956 to 1961 was 2,438, so that it can be said that approximately 4/5ths of the population growth in these years was natural growth. For the previous 5-year period, a similar

⁵

Canada Year Book, 1965, p.227.

calculation shows a natural increase of population of approximately 1750 against a total increase of 3,094, for a ratio of approximately 3/5ths.

While it might seem rash, on the basis of such calculations and the data recorded earlier, to make any predictions of future population, particularly in the light of the Yukon story of 'ups' and 'downs' since the days of '98, yet, taken in conjunction with other data bearing on the development of a more stable economy based on proven base metal resources, good transportation facilities, and continuing world need,⁶ it may not be unreasonable to suppose that the population will increase by a minimum of 3% per annum for the next few years at least. Barring a major economic recession in dollar markets, this estimate is probably conservative, for three major economic breakthroughs in the past year have brought to Yukoners a reasonable confidence that long-term stability has finally replaced the flash-in-the-pan excitement of earlier days. These breakthroughs are long-term multi-million dollar production developments at Clinton Creek near Dawson (asbestos), New Imperial Mines near Whitehorse (copper), and the Anvil-Dynasty property near Ross River (lead, zinc, silver).

Economic developments and prospects are beyond the scope of this thesis. However, enough has perhaps been said to indicate that population projections from statistical data, in such a recently opened-up area as the Yukon, have to be

⁶ See, for example, excerpts of Yukon Territorial Reports printed in The Whitehorse Star, April 10, 1967.

viewed as less reliable than such projections in more developed areas, although they can still, in conjunction with other data, have predictive value of some sort.

Population by Ethnic Group (1961).

TABLE V⁷

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
All Groups	14,628	8,178	6,450
British Isles	6,946	3,810	3,136
Native Indian	2,167	1,045	1,122
German	1,092	614	478
French	991	563	428
Scandinavian	773	480	293
Netherlands	349	204	145
Ukrainian	345	194	151
Polish	241	146	95
Italian	200	148	52
Russian	101	57	44
Other European	861	580	281
Asiatics	152	110	42
Eskimo	40	17	23
Other and not stated	370	210	160

The British ethnic group accounts for 47% of the population, while European groups, as a whole, account for 27%. Native Indians account for 15%, the French for 7%. Of the European groups, Germans and Scandinavians lead with 7 1/2%

⁷ Census of Canada, 1961, Series 1.3, Population, Bulletin 1.3-2 (82-25-6).

and 5% respectively. It is noteworthy that females outnumber males only in the Indian and Eskimo groups.

Population by Birthplace, 1961.

TABLE VI⁸

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
All countries	14,628	8,178	6,450
Canada	11,914	6,352	5,562
In Yukon	4,877	2,456	2,421
In rest of Canada	7,037	3,896	3,141
United Kingdom	731	415	316
United States	359	183	176
European Countries	1,531	1,150	381
Asiatic Countries	87	76	11
Other Countries	6	2	4

In 1961, 80.5% of the Yukon's people were at least second generation Canadian. Only 33%, however, were born in the Yukon, which means (to use Yukon terminology) that 67% were at one time "Cheechakos", or newcomers. Of the newcomers from outside Canada, it is interesting to note that the European males outnumbered their females approximately three to one. It is conjectured (with some backing from "common knowledge" in the Yukon) that many of these single European men, with their reputation for hard work, found very remunerative employment, in their first months and years in Canada, in the mining camps at Elsa, Keno Hill, and Calumet, where living conditions, to say the least, were

hardly such as to inspire an enthusiasm for marriage and stereotypic Euro-Canadian family life.

Population by official language and mother tongue, 1961.

TABLE VII⁹

<u>Official Language</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
English only	13,679	7,573	6,106
French only	38	16	22
English and French	825	545	280
Neither English nor French	86	44	42
<u>Mother Tongue</u>			
English	10,869	5,873	4,996
French	443	283	160
German	640	413	227
Indian and Eskimo	1,348	637	711
Italian	144	118	26
Netherlands	95	59	36
Polish	84	56	28
Scandinavian	281	221	60
Ukrainian	202	112	90
Others	522	406	116

It is striking that so few cannot speak either English or French. It is also striking that out of a total of 2,240 native Indians and Eskimos (see Table IV) only 1,348 claim Indian or Eskimo as their mother tongue. This means that 892 Indians and Eskimos claim English as their mother tongue.

Population by Religious Denomination, 1961.

TABLE VIII¹⁰

<u>Religious Denomination</u>	<u>Total</u>
Anglican Church of Canada	4,516
Baptist	710
Greek Orthodox	124
Jewish	1
Luthern	871
Mennonite	14
Petecostal	106
Presbyterian	823
Roman Catholic	3,981
Ukrainian Catholic	50
United Church of Canada	2,519
Others	913

Census figures can, of course, only indicate numbers of "nominal" adherents of various "faiths" and churches. For the Christian Protestant denominations, at any rate, it is probably safe to say that less than 20% of the total enumerations represent Christians who are anything more than just nominal in their profession of faith. Certainly, at least 80% do not attend the "church of their choice" at all regularly.

All census tables of religious denomination have the limitation noted above, but this particular table figures for the Anglican, Baptist, and Roman Catholic churches are unduly

¹⁰

Census of Canada, 1961, Vol. I, Table 86, p.86-23-24.

swollen by the nominal element because of the inclusion of all Indians of official Indian status, except a very few, in the denominational tabulations. For example, for 1963, the 1965 Canada Year Book listed Indian religious affiliation in the Yukon as follows: Anglican, 1489; Roman Catholic, 527; Baptist, 119; not stated, 7; total 2,142.¹¹ While it is no doubt true that many Indians are devout Christians, and the church in some of their communities, such as Old Crow, is at the centre of their religious and community life, yet taking the territory as a whole, it is highly doubtful if 20% of 2,135, or 427 Indians, are regular church attenders. This, of course, excludes Indian children who are resident in either the Roman Catholic boarding schools at Lower Post and Whitehorse, or the Anglican boarding school at Carcross. From the data which we have here, however, it is very difficult to generalize, and one would need much more information before making any sweeping statements about religion in the Yukon beyond those possible from the nominal tabulations of the Census table.

Indian and Eskimo Population of the Yukon.

The table, reproduced in Appendix A, showing the population breakdown by Health District and "place" of residence, lists a total of 2,167 Indians and 40 Eskimos. Of the 40 Eskimos, 30 live on Herschel Island, 7 in Whitehorse, and 3 in Old Crow.

¹¹

Canada Year Book, 1965, p.192.

The 2,167 Indians do not include those people of Indian blood, or part-Indian blood, who are not members of bands, and who do not therefore have Indian status, as defined by the Indian Act of Canada. It is impossible to tell, from the Census data, how many of this latter group there are in the Yukon. These "non-status Indians" are, for the most part, offspring of Indian women who have married non-Indian men. Offspring of an Indian man legally married to a non-Indian woman are much less likely, in present conditions, to be without Indian status, for it is their right to have it, and for various practical reasons, it is generally to their advantage to have it.

The 2,167 Indians of Indian status were spread throughout the Yukon. The places of residence, where 35 or more of these people were living in 1961, are as follows:

TABLE IX

<u>"Place"</u>	<u>Indian</u>	<u>White</u>
- Old Crow	151	63
- Pelly Crossing	142	9
x Mayo	87	253
- Teslin	135	96
x Watson Lake	86	508
- Upper Liard	164	35
x Carcross	69	106
- Ross River	128	4
- Carmacks	146	72
- Aishihik	46	15
- Champagne	45	11
x Haines Junction	44	154
- Burwash Landing	37	20
x Dawson City	186	686
x (Whitehorse district)	420	7,770
- Whitehorse Reserve	116	7
x Whitehorse City	217	4,731
x Whitehorse (unorganized)	203	3,039
		} Breakdown of Whitehorse District
- Indians outnumber Whites		
x Whites outnumber Indians		

In these seventeen communities of 35 or more Indians, the Indians outnumbered the whites in ten. In six of them they outnumbered the whites by more than 3 to 1: Pelly Crossing, Upper Liard, Ross River, Aishihik, Champagne, and the Whitehorse Indian Reserve. However, it is interesting to note that such figures can be very misleading when it comes to considerations of culture-contact. For example, in the summer of 1966, it was reported that "about 500 people were busy in and around Ross River" working on mining exploration and related projects.¹²

The Yukon Indian population has grown by 50% since 1949, as the following figures, taken from the 1965 Canada Year Book, show:

TABLE X

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Indians</u>
1949	1,443
1954	1,568
1959	1,868
1960	1,923
1961	2,006
1962	2,096
1963	2,142

Since 1959, the rate of natural increase is calculated, from the above figures, to be 34.25 per thousand.¹³ This

¹² Northern Lights, Margaret D. Marsh (ed.), No. 39, Winter 1966, p.11.

¹³ On the basis of 2,000 average population for 4 years.

compares with a rate of natural increase for these years, for all the people in the Yukon, of approximately 31.6 (see Table IV). Since the latter figure includes the Indian rate, we may conclude that the natural growth rate for the Indians is some 3 to 4 persons per 1,000 greater than it is for whites.

School population, 1961.

TABLE XI¹⁴

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Total population 5-24 years of age	4,822	2,508	2,314
Attending school (and university)	2,905	1,456	1,449
Kindergarten	180	89	91
Grades 1-4	1,343	669	674
Grades 5-8	917	464	453
Grades 9-10	273	128	145
Grade 11	78	37	41
Grades 12-13	59	27	32
University ("outside")	55	42	13

The most striking thing about these figures is the large drop in numbers after Grade 4, Grade 8, and Grade 10. The total high school population was only 410, or 14.4% of the total school population.

It is interesting to compare these figures with those for Indians only, in the school year 1962-3. The following table shows the breakdown for Indians, by Grade:

¹⁴ Census of Canada, 1961, Vol. I, Table 99, p.99-11.

TABLE XII¹⁵
SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, INDIANS ONLY

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Number</u>
Kindergarten	1
Grade 1	45
2	51
3	24
4	32
5	63
6	44
7	47
8	22
9	20
10	8
11	4
12	1
<hr/>	
Total	362

Total school enrollment for Indians and whites: 3,104.

The sudden drop in numbers for the Indians occurred after Grade 7. The total Indian high school population was only 33, or 9.1% of the total Indian school population.

¹⁵ Canada Year Book, 1965, p.195.

TABLE XIII¹⁶

DISTRIBUTION OF EXPERIENCED LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATION AND
ETHNIC GROUP - 1961
YUKON TERRITORY

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Indian and Eskimo</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage Distribution</u>
	(number)	(number)	(number)	%
Craftsmen, production process and related workers	51	1,269	1,320	21
Service and Recreation	94	1,059	1,153	18
Transportation and Communication	21	640	661	11
Clerical	nil	626	626	10
Miners, Quarrymen and related workers	12	560	572	9
Managerial	3	498	501	8
Professional and Technical	4	497	501	8
Labourers not elsewhere specified	118	223	341	6
Sales	3	158	161	3
Agriculture and Forestry	23	52	75	1
Fishermen, Trappers and Hunters	66	9	75	1
Occupations not stated	31	225	256	4
	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total	426	5,816	6,242	100

In ethnic composition, the labour force of the Yukon is overwhelmingly white. Only some 6 or 7 per cent of the total labour force is Indian, and most of these are listed as

¹⁶ The Yukon Today, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1968, p.10.

"labourers, not elsewhere specified", service and recreational workers, and "fishermen, trappers and hunters". Only seven were listed, in the 1961 Census, in the technical, managerial, and professional fields.

Conclusion.

The picture which emerges from the foregoing analysis of the Yukon's population is not easy to describe. How shall we say it? Small "clusters" of people in a vast land? One "cluster" much larger than any of the others? A population of considerable ethnic variety? A native Indian population, in part clustered in its "own" communities, in part, sharing communities with "whites"? A school population, stable until Grade 7 or 8, then rapidly falling off? A land where newcomers outnumber "natives", whether white or Indian, by two to one? A labour force overwhelmingly white? Our statistics provide affirmative answers to these rhetorical questions, but they are unable to provide us with much more than a two-dimensional glimpse of the full picture.

As a necessary next step towards the development of a more complete representation of Teslin society we need to consider the historical setting. We now propose, therefore, to journey, in heart and mind, back to the early days of the Teslin people's history. We will move from Teslin back across the coastal mountains to the valley of the Taku River, home of the Takuqwan, tracing the path taken by this small group of people into the cold, dry interior of the Yukon plateau. In the valley of the Taku we will see some suggestions of an unusual type of cultural development.

CHAPTER III

COASTAL ANTECEDENTS

In the conclusion to her doctoral dissertation on the Indians of Southern Yukon, Catherine McClellan wrote, in 1950, as follows:

Southern Yukon Territory has been sadly neglected by ethnologists. Its native tribes and their linguistic and cultural affiliations are largely unknown. Our recent survey between Kluane and Teslin lakes suggests that the aboriginal population of this area may be divided into three groups, whom I have called respectively the Southern Tutchone, the Tagish, and the Teslin Indians. The fieldwork also revealed an interesting mixture of Northern Athabaskan and Tlingit traits in the cultures of these Yukon tribes. I believe that this situation is the result of native acculturation which took place in the nineteenth century. At that time the Athabaskan speaking southern Tutchone and Tagish adopted several coastal Tlingit institutions and also absorbed a limited number of Tlingit people. The Tagish even gave up their own language for that of their coastal neighbours. At the same time a third group of Tlingit speaking Indians (later to be called the Teslin Indians) moved into the southeastern part of the territory from the Taku river basin. Their status is unclear, but they too may be a mixed Athabaskan and Tlingit group. At least, their culture is not entirely typical of the coastal Tlingit, and they have inland affiliations as far back in time as we can see.¹

The question of the origin of the Teslin Indians is an intriguing one. There is little room for doubt that the ancestors of most of the present-day Teslin band came

¹ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory" (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 218.

from the upper Taku River sometime during the nineteenth century, but whether they were basically a Tlingit group who left the coast and eventually crossed the mountains into the drainage area of the upper Yukon River, or whether they were an Athabascan group who became Tlingitized in the Taku basin and later returned inland, or whether they were a survival group of coastal Tlingit whose ultimate origins were interior, is very doubtful indeed. Writing in 1953, McClellan stated, following a discussion of the possible Tlingitization of the Athabascan Tagish: "Evidence for the Atlin and Teslin groups is not nearly as conclusive but I think that they too represent mixed Athabascan-Tlingit groups, whose amalgamation occurred primarily in the upper Taku River Basin."² However, in her latest writing on this subject, McClellan seems less sure: "Whether the Upper Taku people were themselves originally Athabascans or whether they were Tlingit who had amalgamated with Athabascan speakers before or after crossing the divide, remains a moot point."³ She summarizes her present thinking on this problem a few pages later, as follows:

In sum, much of the history of the native groups in both the Taku and upper Yukon drainages remains obscure. There have obviously been a number of small population shifts involving groups speaking both Tlingit and Athabascan, but we may

² C. McClellan, "The Inland Tlingit," Memoirs of the Society for American Archeology, No. IX, 1953, p. 49.

³ C. McClellan, My Old People, ms., p. 120.

never be able to work out the details. What is certain, however, is that the present native populations of Teslin and Atlin are Tlingit speaking, and that they reconstruct their past histories largely in terms of Tlingit sib traditions.⁴

In view of the small amount of careful anthropological study which has been done in this area, (apart from her own work), the caution of McClellan is understandable. From my own conversations with Teslin Indians in the summer of 1967, however, it seemed reasonably clear that these people themselves had less doubts about their origins. Those who were at all articulate spoke with relaxed assurance about their coastal origins. But, at the same time, it was clear also that these more articulate members of the present-day Teslin band did not include everyone in the village in their own claim to coastal origins. The inference was that most of them had coastal origins. It was not clear about the others for two reasons. First, the "others" were not nearly as articulate, and second, there seemed to be some powerful reasons for claiming coastal Tlingit origins if one could, and for being obscurantist about one's origins if one couldn't. What one of these reasons might be soon became apparent.

The United States Indian Claims Commission had announced sometime previously that any Yukon Indian who could substantiate his claim to Tlingit origins would be eligible

⁴ Ibid., p. 122.

for compensation when a legal settlement was reached between Alaskan Indians and the United States Government. The economic motive behind some, at least, of the claims to Tlingit origins, was obviously powerful. Another reason for wanting to claim Tlingit origins lay in the prestige factor. It is this prestige factor which leads us now into some of the complexities of Teslin social organization and history.

All members of the Teslin Indians belonged to either a Wolf or a Crow moiety. These matrilineal exogamous divisions corresponded to the Wolf and Raven moieties of the coastal Tlingit. Furthermore, everybody belonged also to a matrilineal clan which had other segments on the coast.⁵ The Teslin Crow moiety was divided into the Decitan, Kuqhitan, Ickitan, and Ganaxadi clans, while the Wolf moiety at Teslin had only the Yanyedi (or eEnyedi) clan,⁶ though this clan was divided into two groups, the Old yEnyedi and the New yEnyedi.⁷ These clans claimed in Teslin, as they did on the coast, hunting territories, stories,

⁵ See the Glossary, p. for definitions of anthropological terms.

⁶ C. McClellan, "The Inland Tlingit, "Memoirs of the Society for American Archeology, No. IX, 1953, p. 47.

⁷ C. McClellan, My Old People, ms., p. 124.

songs, and crests. An individual's social life was largely determined by his moiety and clan membership, so that many reciprocal duties and privileges in ceremonials, life crises, and everyday living were clearly understood and acted upon.⁸

The clans of both the Wolf and Crow moieties at Teslin today can be grouped roughly within two other divisions, the "Yukoners" and the "B.C.ers". There is, in fact, a marked social dichotomy between these two clan groupings, with greater prestige belonging to the "B.C.ers". The "B.C.ers" have members in the Koqhitan and Ickitan sibs of the Crow moiety, and the New eYenyedi sib of the Wolf moiety. The "Yukoners" are mostly Decitan Crows or old yYenyedi Wolves. This division is based on the trapping areas formerly claimed by the sibs involved, before the introduction of registered trap lines by the Canadian Government about 1947. As a rough generalization it may be said that Decitan lands comprised the northwest sector of the whole Teslin-claimed area; the Old yYenyedi claimed the Nisutlin River and Wolf Lake country; the Koqhitan had the Morley Lake, Morley River territory, while the southern part of Teslin Lake was New yYenyedi country. The Ickitan and Ganaxadi did not apparently "own" any land.⁹

⁸ C. McClellan, "The Inland Tlingit," Memoirs of the Society for American Archeology, No. IX, 1953, p. 48.

⁹ C. McClellan, My Old People, ms., p. 126.

But why the greater prestige of the "B.C.ers"?

Catherine McClellan suggests, "Although it is impossible to prove it, I suspect that if any element at Teslin incorporates an old Athabascan strain or is to be especially identified with the hinterland, it is the "Yukoners", while the "B.C.ers" represent a more recent coastal Tlingit segment."¹⁰ This statement, of course, leads to the question, "Why did the Tlingits have more prestige than the Athabascans?" This latter question, at any rate, is relatively easy to answer, for throughout the nineteenth century at least, and possibly throughout much of the eighteenth century as well, the Tlingits on the coast were a sophisticated people with an elaborate social and cultural life superior to any neighbouring native tribes, whether coastal or inland. Furthermore, they held the whip hand in exploiting trading opportunities with Russian, American, and British sea-borne traders by acting as middlemen between these traders and the fur-gatherers of the interior.¹¹ They successfully prevented inland tribes from trading directly with the whites by controlling the mountain passes into the interior. The mild climate of the coast and the riches of the sea, moreover, provided the coastal Tlingit with an ecological niche far easier and far more rewarding to exploit

¹⁰ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory" (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 218.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 155-9.

than the contrasting interior niche of dry boreal forest and intensely cold and long winters. The life of the interior Athabascan tribes was, in comparison to that of the coastal Tlingit, extremely primitive on both the material and cultural levels. The Chilkats, possibly the most aggressive of the coastal Tlingit tribes, referred to the interior Indians of the Yukon plateau and forest as "sticks", a term which had a derisive connotation in addition to its purely descriptive quality. Also, some coastal Tlingit sib stories and mimes depicted inland Indians forever pathetically wandering around in search of food. The inland seems to have been considered to be a kind of Siberia to the happier breeds on the coast.

Whatever the ultimate tribal and sib origins of present-day Teslins may be, their geographical movements for the last century are relatively certain. The village on its present site was built shortly after the establishment of a trading post at Nisutlin in 1904.¹² At that time lumber for the houses was floated down the lake from an older village called Old Johnsontown (on rafts 60 feet long and 4 feet deep, according to my informant of 1967, an elderly Teslin Indian who spoke with some pride of the feat). The houses

¹² C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory" (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 107

were then reassembled on level ground at the top of the bluff overlooking Teslin Lake, most of them in rows on either side of a "street", reminiscent, as McClellan says, of some coastal Tlingit villages. At least two of these houses are still standing today.

Old Johnsontown was on the east shore toward the south end of Teslin Lake. A few cabins, now intermittently used by "B.C." families, were later built at New Johnsontown near the old settlement.

Before settling at Old Johnsontown the Teslin people appear to have settled temporarily at Sandy Point at the extreme southern end of Teslin Lake. For a few years at the turn of the century the Hudson's Bay Company maintained a trading post there, called Old Post. The name Callbreath (or Galbraith on some maps) is also associated with this spot.¹³ It seems that, for a brief spell during the height of the Klondike Gold Rush, Callbreath was a sort of transit camp for would-be miners who wanted to avoid the notorious difficulties of the Chilkoot Pass further west. As it turned out, the Upper Taku route was more frustrating in its tangled way than the chilling wind-swept steeps of the Chilkoot Pass. In any case, the White Pass Railway was built in 1900 and the necessity for desperate foot-slogging heroics over the mountains was ended. McClellan investigated the Hudson's Bay Company store accounts for Old Post

¹³ C. McClellan, My Old People, ms., p. 124.

in 1951 and, interestingly, found the names of several Indians then living in Teslin, as well as the name of the builders of the Koquhitan sib house at the old settlement of Nakina in the upper Taku region on the coastal side of the mountains.

Nakina seems to have been the chief 19th century settlement of those Indians who moved over the divide into the Teslin and Atlin areas sometime during the last half of the century. Other settlements and fish camps besides Nakina were undoubtedly used also by these people, but Nakina is the name which sprang first to the minds of those older Teslin residents from whom information was sought in the summer of 1967. In any case, the upper Taku region was, apparently, the relatively stable 'home' for these people for a long time, at least well back into the early years of the last century.

Could these people, then, correctly be called Taku Indians? McClellan thinks not, for other tribes lived in the general area at different times and sometimes contested their right to occupancy. In particular, the Tahltan tribe to the east in the Stikine drainage area were traditional enemies of the Tlingit, or Tlingitized, residents of the Upper Taku. Territorial claims were contested not only in the Taku drainage area, but also in the hinterland. In the days when inland fur was most sought after, following the virtual extinction of the sea otter industry early in the 19th century, Tahltan and Inland Tlingit bands were in frequent

competitive contact, and the boundaries between their claimed regions were very fluid.¹⁴

As was mentioned earlier, the clans of both moieties in Teslin today tell their history primarily in terms of separate clan traditions. All of these traditions, according to McClellan, speak of an ultimate migration from the coast.¹⁵ She gives, as an example, the Decitan tradition which tells "how one of their old grandmothers married from Angoon to Chilkat. She had four daughters who later travelled in state up the Taku River where they married Tahltan, Teslin, Tagish, and Kaska husbands and started Decitan noble families in their adopted countries. Their names are used by the Decitan in each of these places today." McClellan goes on to say, "The other clans are equally specific as to the way their ancestors arrived in the interior."¹⁶

¹⁴ One of my 1967 informants in Teslin told me of the wonderful bridge which his ancestors had built over the Nakina River, which was so constructed that it could be let down in the middle (presumably by counterweight arrangements) whenever the Tahltan enemy approached on the opposite shore. The memory of this achievement of truly functional and indigenous technology brought a glint of happy pride into the eyes of my informant, which, one may conjecture, would have quickly faded before the alien magnificence of the present-day seven-span steel and concrete monster stretching across Nisutlin Bay.

¹⁵ C. McClellan, "The Inland Tlingit," Memoirs of the Society for American Archeology, No. IX, 1953, p. 49.

¹⁶ Ibid.

But, of course, there is more than meets the eye in these traditions. Why, for instance, would the four daughters referred to above, go up the Taku River and marry husbands from four separate tribes? The answer seems to lie in an economic motive. Because of the well-established social custom of bride-service and matrilineality in general, coastal Indians could quite easily manipulate their inland kinship ties to their trading advantage.¹⁷ It was mentioned earlier that the coastal Tlingit jealously guarded their favourable position with respect to white sea-borne traders. If they could at the same time stimulate the fur-gathering propensities of inland tribes to meet a growing demand from white traders without themselves having to leave the comforts of their coastal habitat, so much the better.

McClellan thinks that intensified economic motives were the main reason for Tlingit infiltration of the interior but she also speculates that the hinterland may also have been a refuge for social outcasts. There is, for example, the Teslin eYenyedi tradition that they first discovered their rich fur country while in pursuit of a clansman who incestuously married his maternal cousin. Other traditions tell of the worsted element in a clan quarrel retiring to the interior.¹⁸ Mutual wife-stealing between Athabascan and Tlingit seems also to have occurred, and at least one instance is recorded

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 50.

of a coastal murderer fleeing to the interior.¹⁹

The term Takuqwan has been used by Teslin people to identify themselves, but since the Tlingit people at the mouth of the Taku River also called themselves Takuqwan it is necessary to distinguish between Upper Takuqwan, centred around Nakina, and coastal Takuqwan, in and around the Juneau area.²⁰ In seeking to understand something of the ethnographic determinants of the Teslin Indians' way of life, there is essentially a double question to consider. First, what was the true nature of the relationship between the Upper Takuqwan and the coastal Takuqwan, and second, what was the nature of the relationship between Upper Takuqwan and those interior elements with whom they traded?

The evidence which McClellan puts forward in her doctoral thesis suggests that the Upper Takuqwan left the coast for a variety of reasons, both voluntary and involuntary, perhaps as far back as the 18th century, and became a separate group exploiting an ecological niche around Nakina not envied by their coastal relations but used to their advantage in matters of trading. The Upper Takuqwan intermarried to some degree with Athabascan Indians, and their speech became noticeably

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 50.

²⁰ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory" (unpublished thesis, the University of California, 1950), p. 112.

different from the Tlingit spoken on the coast. They became "gunana", or "strange", to their growingly-distant coastal relations, who apparently came to think of them as "poor cousins" for whom the bonds of affection and clan loyalty tended to be loosened by the desire to keep them at arm's length for economic reasons.

In this development we can see an unusual pattern of culture change. First there was a disengagement of a group of people from a larger society, which we may see, from the slight evidence available, as a kind of cultural defeat. This was cultural integration in reverse. Then secondly, within a short while, there was contact with Athabascan people who in culture-contact terms became subordinate to the recently pushed-out but now superordinate Tlingit emigrants. Processes of fusion and assimilation seem to have combined to produce a culture which was "strange" to the true, coastal Tlingit. This development continued for some time, for the coastal Tlingit continually rebuffed many members of the Upper Takuqwan even though, in contact with Athabascan elements, the Upper Takuqwan were in a superordinate position. Such an experience, continued for a long time, may help to account for the unique mixture of pride and humility seen in some older members of today's Teslin band.

A change in the relationship between Upper and Lower Takuqwan seems to have occurred about the middle of the 19th century. At that time, a woman's husband and his brother

had been killed while the family was hunting around Teslin. The woman escaped harm and carried the news to the head of the Taku from where it quickly spread down to Juneau. Juneau people then came up the river to Inklin where they joined with the Upper Taku people to raid the Tahltan enemy, appararently for clan vengeance. Further raids and counter-raids followed, with the Taku allies claiming final victory.²¹ This war seem to have brought friendship of a kind between the Upper and Lower Taku groups, and from then on it gradually became commonplace for certain members of the

²¹ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory", (unpublished thesis, the University of California, 1950), p. 118.

A different version of this story was told by a Teslin Indian in 1966. A sizeable group of Upper Taku people were, apparently, moving east from what is now Johnson's Crossing, along the shore of Teslin Lake. One of the women in the party had a premonition of disaster if three signs, warning them to turn back, were not obeyed. The signs were three animals, one at a time, crossing in front of them: a lynx, a wolverine, and a fox. Disbelieving the woman, the group ignored all the signs. The fox was supposed to have crossed their path at a point on the lake shore, now called Fox Point as a consequence, only a few miles from Nisutlin Bay. The group camped on the beach in Nisutlin Bay near the site of the present bridge. In the morning they woke to see a war party of Tahltan Indians approaching. In the ensuing battle many were said to have been killed, on both sides. Only the woman who had had the premonition of disaster, and her small son, escaped, bringing the news to the Upper Taku, whence it spread to Juneau.

Upper Taku (or Teslin) group to go right down to Juneau, even for the purpose of selling their furs.

Apparently not all of the Inland Tlingit were welcome at Juneau - only certain ones, certain "friends". McClellan thinks that it is possible nobody went much before the end of the nineteenth century.²² But the fact that some could visit and some couldn't may have marked the beginning of the social dichotomy which can be seen today between the "B.C.ers" and the "Yukoners" at Teslin.

It was about the time of the mid-19th Century Tahltan "war" that the Upper Taku people began coming over the mountain divide into the interior in search of fur, particularly marten, beaver, and fox. Plentiful moose, caribou and other game animals must also have been an attraction. At first they only went 'inland' in the spring and summer, but soon their fur-gathering interest took them farther and farther inland until it became practicable to stay for up to three years before bringing out a catch. Temporary camping grounds became semi-permanent, further inter-marriage with Athabascans took place, and gradually the material culture of these semi-coastal people became almost indistinguishable from that of the interior tribes. The Tlingit social patterns, however, remained remarkably intact, and in pride-of-language we can see the sure mark of cultural identity. There can be little

²² C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory" (unpublished thesis, the University of California, 1950), p.120.

doubt that the Tlingit element in Teslin society remained for a long time in a superordinate position over the Athabascan element.

A completely new and different ecological niche in the interior, however, had to be adapted to and exploited. "King Salmon's writ" did not run in this cold, dry country, and the laws of survival had to be learned through hard experience and what could be learned from interior tribes. Much 'wandering around' took place, but the heart's home for many must have remained for a long time on the wet side of the mountains, amidst the lush undergrowth, tall timbers, and rushing streams of the long slope down to the sea.

CHAPTER IV

THE TAKUQWAN IN THE INTERIOR, BEFORE WHITE CONTACT

In the foregoing chapter it was noted how the Tlingit-speaking inhabitants of the Upper Taku River began crossing into the interior about the middle of the last century. It was also noted how they kept certain social and economic ties with the coast while adapting to a new way of life on the Yukon Plateau. Inevitably, the adaptive process brought these people into a new dynamic relationship with other northern tribes, through trade and intermarriage, and through a sharing of a semi-nomadic ways of life. This latter meant for the Taku people a new kind of symbiosis with a different Mother Nature than the one which had sustained and nourished them on the seaward side of Table Mountain.¹

I SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS

Subsistence patterns were very primitive, for "people were always moving around."² They lived, several families together, in double lean-to shelters made of brush or brush and canvas. They also "ate from bark vessels, packed

¹ Table Mountain rises from the head of the Taku River. The route to Teslin Lake lay over it.

² C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory" (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 108.

provisions in netted babiche bags, wore tailored skin clothing and travelled mostly by foot. In winter they used snowshoes and dragged their skin toboggans by hand."³ The rigour of the life can be seen in the experience of a Juneau Tlingit man who married a Teslin girl in 1898. McClellan records how this man went with his wife's family trapping up the Nisutlin River. "He had to learn to snowshoe, to eat game, including rabbits, which he first thought were puppies, and to do without tea and flour. He was taught how to set rabbit snares, and was roundly berated for throwing away the valuable mink he had caught in his traps. He suffered a great deal from unaccustomed exposure and living in a brush and canvas lean-to in the dead of the interior winter."⁴

Yet it would seem that life did not lack in essential satisfactions, for the challenge of the environment was met by purposeful activity in rhythm with the seasons. In addition to practising the arts of hunting, trapping and fishing, preparing food, and making clothes and footwear, often with considerable artistic embellishment, these Inland Tlingit found opportunity to develop their relationships, through trade, with both coastal and interior people.

³ C. McClellan, "The Inland Tlingit", Memoirs of the Society for American Archeology, No. IX, 1953, p. 48.

⁴ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory" (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 109.

For them, the latter half of the 19th century seems to have been a period of relatively peaceful development in which they themselves became middlemen between the coastal Tlingit and the Northern Athabascans of the Ross and Pelly River areas.

II TRADE

In these years Teslin Lake and surrounding country was the scene of much coming and going. Chilkat traders included it in their wide-ranging forays into the interior, bringing from the coast white man's goods such as guns, ammunition, axes, calico, blankets, tobacco, and matches.⁵ Other Tlingit traders came straight up from Juneau following the Upper Taku route over Table Mountain, bringing "calico, clothes, muzzle loaders, powder, shot, matches, tobacco, and sugar." Also brought were "wooden boxes, baskets, seaweed, and eulachon grease."⁶ Some of the Teslin people travelled down to Juneau to trade there, though not, it seems, directly with white merchants. Teslin people also went north to Ross River and on to Pelly River, trading in a stylized fashion which betokened a stable and fruitful relationship with the Athabaskan people of these regions.

The last half of the 19th century also saw the establishment, for the first time, of white trading posts in the interior, although these had little effect on the Teslins until the 20th century. From trading posts

⁵ Ibid., p. 150.

⁶ Ibid., p. 150a.

established in the Mackenzie drainage after Mackenzie's explorations of 1789, the Hudson's Bay Company began to move into the Yukon drainage, "hoping to compete with Pacific coastal traders served by Tlingit middlemen."⁷ Alexander Murray founded Fort Yukon in 1847, and in 1848 Robert Campbell established Fort Selkirk in Northern Tutchone country, only to have it destroyed in 1852 by Chilkat Tlingit who were not going to have their monopoly position taken away from them without a fight. In fact, so successful were the Chilkats in defending their economic position that, until the Gold Rush of 1898, no white traders could get a foothold in the area of the Upper Yukon River, and no Athabascans were allowed to leave it.⁸ It is true that a few white prospectors and missionaries began to penetrate the area in the 1870's and 1880's, but they did not trade with the Indians, at least on any commercial scale.

Descriptions of the journeys of some of the Teslin people north and south, "on business", give us an idea of the increasingly viable economic position into which they had worked themselves since the end of the Tahltan "war" and their inland migration.

⁷ C. McClellan, "Culture Contacts in the Early Historic Period in Northwestern North America," Arctic Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1964, p. 5.

⁸ Ibid.

"If the Teslin Indians went to Juneau, they went after the spring breakup of the ice. It took three days to get to Nakina if only the men went, but a week if there were women in the party. The first day's camp was about fifteen miles from Teslin Lake. People often stayed there for two or three days drying fish. After this the trail led across a long flat mountain (Table Mountain) on which there was but one timbered place to camp. The next day's journey was through big timber all the way and ended at the head of the Taku river. Here the leader of the party would have a dugout canoe which was kept in a boathouse constructed of two uprights, a ridgepole, and "small trees leaned all around." The canoe might be eight feet wide and forty feet long. It had six cross seats in it, and six families could fit in it. Such a boat cost \$600 in Juneau. One man usually "owned it". He was the "captain." The men who came with him helped him in order to earn their passage. They did not pay anything in addition, unless they were careless and something happened to the canoe. The trip down the river took two or three days more. Camps were made on shore every night, each family putting up its own tarpaulin shelter and having its own fire.

When the Teslin Indians reached Juneau, 'they would live like folks together, and then they would start back.' Before they left, they traded. Sometimes when they said goodbye, they would make plans for future trading 'if the Juneau people want to come up in this country. Any time next summer if they want to come.'

When all went well, the return trip up the river took about a week. Two or three tons of goods would be loaded in the canoe. Sails were used if the wind was strong enough. These were square and in the old days they were made of moosehide. Later two triangular canvas sails were sewed together. Two such square sails were rigged on one fifteen foot mast, and the canoe was sailed wing on wing before the wind. In a very strong wind two steersmen were necessary, one on each side. They used wide bladed paddles as rudders. If the wind were slack, the boat had to be pulled and poled. Five men with poles pushed from either side of the boat, while the captain steered. A rope which ran around each of the cross-seats was pulled by other men who walked along the shore. Sometimes the women walked on the shore too. "The young women think that they can help."⁹

⁹ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory" (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 151-3.

The description which McClellan gives of the middle-man role played by Teslin Indians at Ross River and Pelly Banks is equally interesting:

When the Teslin people traded with the Ross river natives, who are gunana, both groups came to a camp which was half of the total distance between Ross River and Teslin. The trading was done in the spring after the trapping was over. Language difficulties were overcome by having an interpreter. A number of Teslin Indians learned the Ross River speech. Sometimes the Ross River people came to Wolf Lake to trade and sometimes they even came to Teslin. This trading took place "long ago".

Pelly banks people were also gunana and spoke a different language from that of the Teslin people. More trade seems to have been carried on with them than with the Ross river band. Some Pelly Banks Indians married Teslin Indians.

The father of the present TukRedi chief used to go to Pelly banks to trade. The following description shows again the pattern of trading partners, and perhaps makes clearer than the previous material the ways in which formal gift exchange was basic to the proceedings.

"axyakau is what they call their friend up there. Any time you see the person that's your friend up at Pelly that is what you are going to call them. It's a high word. It don't matter if your country is a long way off, you will say axyakau to him and he will say the same word back to you. And they will take you into your camp. He's going to even it back up to you by using the same word. If you want to stay with him you stay there. He got lots of friends and you got dry goods from Juneau. After awhile when you want to go back home again, you start to trade. You going to ask your axyakau. You say, 'We want you to trade with us now.' He will say, 'All right,' and he will go 'round and tell his friends. There's a big camp there and they will all come and trade with you. He will say to them, 'My axyakau is going to trade today; how about you coming to buy something?' You are going to put out your goods - tobacco and pants and shirts and spread it all around, out in front and to the side of you. Your axyakau will say that he will give you so much for some things and then you will save them for him, and not show them to the other people. Everybody will look at the things and ask you what you want for the pants and the shirts. You going to say so much - maybe one marten. They say, 'All right.' You just going to have furs after. No one would argue about the

price. What you ask, they pay. Everybody gone away. Then you just give your axyakau the presents. Just like you potlatch him. Then later he will look at it, will put up furs to potlatch back at you.

I never do it. They quit it before my time. My grandpa and father went down to Juneau before me. Before me they do this way. They quit when I was a boy."¹⁰

It would be interesting to know if many Teslin Indians who "packed down" to Juneau also "packed in" to Ross River and Pelly Banks. From what was said earlier about sib-claimed hunting areas it would seem unlikely, as trading was also influenced by the clan system, with Koqhitan, Ickitan and New yEnyedi's travelling to Juneau, and Decitan (tuq'wedi or TukRedi) and Old yEnyedi (and possibly ganaxadi) heading north. Information on this point would help to throw further light on the social dichotomy noted earlier between "B.C.ers" and "Yukoners".

In any case, these trading patterns would be bound to have social consequences in terms of native acculturation. Life for the Takuqwan in the interior meant further amalgamation with Athabascan elements, perhaps along lines similar to the earlier amalgamation in the Taku basin. All the evidence seems to point to the continuing predominance of Tlingit ideas concerning social organization, because of the prestige factor mentioned earlier. Athabascan cultural elements which were absorbed by the Inland Tlingit had more to do with

¹⁰ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory," (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 158.

material things, although an Athabascan social concept such as bride service, which fitted well with the matrilineal custom of the Tlingits, would tend to be absorbed because of its practical advantages.

III SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND BELIEFS.

Shamanism and Witchcraft

Because much of the year had to be spent in scattered family groups, deep within the kingdom of the animals they hunted, and on whom they depended, these people were undoubtedly influenced by some of the deep-rooted northern Athabascan beliefs concerning the relationship between man and the rest of the created order. Shamanism was apparently important, the shaman getting his power from animal spirits sought by a quest and fasting. Witches were much feared.¹¹ As late as 1932, special precautions had to be taken with the spirit world when otter were trapped,¹² but this particular example probably relates to coastal rather than interior tradition in which the sea otter's 18th century importance had penetrated the tribal subconscious. In 1918, the Taylor and Drury store keeper in Teslin used the belief in water witches to frighten children into silence at night, although by then the superstition no longer affected adults.¹³

¹¹ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory" (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 110.

¹² Ibid., p. 151.

¹³ My Field Notes, 1967.

The exact status of shamans and the extent of witchcraft in the 19th century is not clear. Sometimes the shaman was a sib "chief", as in the case of old Yelcan, chief of the Teslin Decitan;¹⁴ at other times he could be an Athabascan as in the case of a Pelly River man (still believed to be in the tribe, however, because "his mother's mother was related to a Teslin man") who came to Teslin.¹⁵ Coastal Tlingit influence in this sphere of life was strong¹⁶ yet interior "additions" were undoubtedly made, particularly in the sphere of medicine. Native 'cures' were still used well into the 20th century, and even today scientific white man's medicine has not wholly supplanted the ancient arts.¹⁷ Shamans, of course, claimed supernatural powers, and the awe they engendered can perhaps be seen from the fact that, when they died, their bodies were not cremated and put in grave houses, as was usual with ordinary people, but "deposited unburned on some lonely outcropping of rock".¹⁸

¹⁴ C. McClellan, The Inland Tlingit, Memoirs of the Society for American Archeology, No. IX, 1953, p. 48.

¹⁵ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory" (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 154.

¹⁶ C. McClellan, "The Inland Tlingit, Memoirs of the Society for American Archeology, No. IX, 1953, p. 48.

¹⁷ My Field Notes, 1967.

¹⁸ C. McClellan, "The Inland Tlingit, Memoirs of the Society for American Archeology, No. IX, 1953, p. 48.

Slavery

The institution of slavery is likewise not clear at the present time, and the need for further "salvage ethnography"¹⁹ is obvious, although it may now be too late ever to get close to the truth. McClellan states that, in the 19th century, "All Anyedi had slaves",²⁰ and that "The last slave was shot in 1898",²¹ but she does not say who these slaves could be, although it was known that the coastal Tlingit enslaved individuals from other coastal tribes to the south, but never, apparently, from Athabascans of the interior.²² Perhaps the slaves of the Inland Tlingit were brought in from the coast at the time of the migration from the Taku River. In any case, whatever their origins, slaves were an unranked caste, standing quite apart from the rest of Tlingit society and "the continuously graded hierarchy of individuals" who made it up.²³

¹⁹ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory", (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 233.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 111.

²¹ C. McClellan, "The Inland Tlingit," Memoirs of the Society for American Archeology, No. IX, 1953, p. 48.

²² C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory", (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 220.

This fact is one among several suggesting incomplete dominance of the Inland Tlingit over the Athabascan people. In such circumstances of incomplete dominance, fusional integration seems to be the integrative process most prominent.

²³ C. McClellan, "The Interrelations of Social Structure with Northern Tlingit Ceremonialism", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 10, No. 1, Spring, 1954, p. 77.

Social Ties

What the process of acculturation with white society has meant for the Teslin Indians, in terms of the pains of adjustment, is perhaps nowhere more clearly seen than in the change that has had to be made in the accepted relationship between the individual and society. In Tlingit society generally, the individual had a number of social ties which bound him to his fellows so closely that it would seem to be neither fanciful nor hyperbolic to speak of an organic relationship.

First of all, the individual belonged to his "qwan", the largest socialized Tlingit group, comprising all of the people who lived within one particular area.²⁴ As a member of his qwan, the individual would share with his fellows a feeling of identity based on a common dialect. He would share also the same climate and weather, experience the same flora and fauna, the same air, the same sights and sounds, and use the same technology in exploiting a common ecological niche. Despite these strong common influences, however, the unity of the qwan was never very great, except sometimes in war against an alien enemy. In matters of war and peace and territorial ties generally, the local sib segments were the really strong centres of unity rather than the qwan.²⁵

The individual, secondly, belonged to his exogamic matrilineal moiety, either Crow or Wolf.²⁶ (On the coast the

²⁴ Ibid., p. 76. ²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

moieties were Raven and Wolf or Raven and Eagle). Kinship, rather than territorial consideration, governed this pan-Tlingit dual organization, and a host of reciprocal obligations and kinship observances weaved back and forth across the dividing axis. "Every life crisis required one's opposites to complete the necessary ritual, and at death, moiety affiliation transcended all other ties."²⁷

Thirdly, the individual belonged to one of the sibs, or clans, within his moiety. These sibs, as mentioned earlier, "claimed hunting territories, stories, songs, and crests,"²⁸ as well as a pool of personal and house names which continued "generation after generation".²⁹

Then fourthly, the individual belonged to a particular matrilineal lineage in his sib, which might represent the sib in several different qwan. The sibs of a particular town, and the lineages within each sib, were always ranked. The most important man in any community was the chief of the highest ranking house (lineage) in the top-ranking sib, although the ranking chief was never a real "political" leader.³⁰

Finally, the individual belonged to a group call "sib children" through which he achieved formal recognition of his paternal line. This group was made up of those whose fathers belonged to the same sib. It thus cut across the matrilineal sib affiliations of the children themselves. "Sib children" were supposed to have "a warm protective attitude towards each

²⁷ Ibid., p. 76. ²⁸ See. p. 55-56

²⁹ C. McClellan, op. cit., p. 77.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 76.

other".³¹ They also formed a definite joking group during ceremonial functions.³²

The individual was thus tied to his society in a complex pattern of relationships involving many groups. The individual learned his various roles, vis-a-vis these groups, from his hierarchically-ordered elders, towards whom respect was inculcated from an early age. The methods of education, or enculturation, used in 19th century Teslin society will be considered in Chapter VIII.

Marriage Customs

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to go into a detailed treatment of the various forms of marriage, yet it may be worthwhile simply to mention these in order to show some of the complications. The most preferred marriage apparently was "with father's people , especially with father's sister's daughter, who might also be mother's brother's child."³³ In this case the maternal uncle became the father-in-law, and the marked respect due an uncle would then simply merge into more formal avoidance according to custom. Another marriage which was "not uncommon" in Teslin was when a man married his father's actual sister. In this case the father's sister would become the father's daughter-in-law, and the man's paternal grandfather would become the man's father-in-law. Then there would be a clash between two

³¹ Ibid., p. 76

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., p. 114.

traditions: the patterned warmth between grandchild and grandparent, and the expected avoidance between a man and his father-in-law! McClellan thinks the grandchild-grandparent tradition was the stronger and that the avoidance would be softened, but "we need more information."³⁴

Other common forms of marriage were the sororate, the levirate, and nepotic inheritance of widows.³⁵ Polygyny and polyandry were permitted, but were usually confined to a few of the higher ranking and wealthier sib members. "There was great emphasis on marrying to keep the name strong",³⁶ and if a man took a new spouse (either plurally or successively) from a sib other than his first wife's, he had to make a heavy payment to his first wife's sib, "and even then the act almost always engendered hard feelings."³⁷

This brief excursion into some of the complexities of Teslin marriage customs should bring out, perhaps clearer than any of the previous material, the vast difference between the social practices and concerns of the 19th century Teslin Indians and the practices in the changed circumstances of today.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 114.

³⁵ For definitions of these terms, see the Glossary,

³⁶ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory", (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 110.

³⁷ C. McClellan, op. cit., p. 114.

Ceremonialism

The 19th century ceremonialism of the Inland Tlingit, and particularly of the Teslin group, followed the practices of the coastal Tlingit, although in less elaborate fashion according to the difference in material wealth between interior and coast. There were three categories of ceremonialism: feasts, potlatches, and peacemaking. The funeral potlatch was probably the chief ceremony of all.³⁸

Feasts set off special occasions, from a small-scale event such as a successful hunt to a large-scale affair involving the entire community. In many cases members of one moiety feasted the opposite moiety and did not themselves eat. Feasts were often given alone, but they were also always important adjuncts of the other two types of ceremonies. For example, the tobacco-smoking party held just before the disposal of the corpse was really a special kind of feasting.³⁹

The core of the patlatch was "the formal and public payment by members of one moiety to those of the opposite, in order to honor the dead and the living by recompensing individuals of the other side for duties rendered, or to guarantee their 'respect behaviour' in the future. Reciprocal

³⁸ C. McClellan, "The Interrelations of Social Structure With Northern Tlingit Ceremonialism," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 10, No. 1, Spring, 1954, p. 77.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 77.

gift-giving and other obligations stemming from moiety membership were a constant part of Tlingit daily life . . . but only on a real potlatch was the entire community called to witness the event. High ranking individuals considered potlatching necessary for proper payment for funeral duties, completion of a lineage house, wiping off a 'shame' such as a physical blemish or awkward accident, public consignment of an insult to oblivion, restoration of a redeemed slave to his former social standing, and maintaining or attaining full noble status for one's self, one's children or grandchildren."⁴⁰ Low-ranking people, however, could rarely initiate potlatches. They limited the important "pay-off" for funeral services, for example, to a small "tea party" held for the helpers alone immediately after the burial or cremation.

The crucial feature of the peacemaking, or "deer", ceremony was a satisfactory settlement for bodily injury or death inflicted on a member of one sib by a member of another. The central figures of the final ceremony, after much feasting and other ritual, were exchanged hostages, called "deer". The hostages were supposed to imitate the peaceful behaviour of these animals. The whole affair was "a particularly well integrated and extensive bit of symbolism."⁴¹

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 78.

⁴¹ Ibid.

The foregoing brief accounts of feasts, potlatches, and peacemaking, refer to the coastal Tlingit. No doubt the interior versions were not always identical. Yet the traditions must have been very strong, for even today more than a few vestiges remain, particularly those relating to funerals. The Teslin people's care of graves is impressive, and although Christian belief has merged with earlier beliefs, the elaborate picket fences surrounding the graves seem to be a last attempt to protect the identity of loved ones who have journeyed out of the recent past, where identities were strong, into a limitless and vague beyond.



Plate No. 11. Graveyard of the
Teslin Indians.



Plate No. 12. A Teslin Indian Child's grave,
with Freddie Johnston, an
ingenious craftsman who turns
the grave posts on his home-
made lathe which he built from
'junk' for fifty cents.

PART B

INDIAN - WHITE CULTURE CONTACT

It is proposed in the following three chapters to outline the major events and aspects of Indian - white contact, as background for the succeeding chapters dealing specifically with education. The presentation is intended more as a backdrop for the educational drama than a detailed or systematic historical analysis.

Use will be made of the scheme outlined in Chapter I to characterize distinct culture contact periods, and note will be made of the processes of cultural integration as far as these can be discerned from the data.

The overall intention is to present to the reader's mental eye a tapestry in three parts, in which historical impressions drawn from the data have shining on them the lights of Spicers' analytical scheme. It is hoped to achieve an effect in words comparable to the visual effect which might have been achieved had, say, Cezanne done the Bayeaux Tapestry and then had it filmed by Jean Cocteau; in other words an attempt will be made to present an impressionistic tapestry in motion, with lighting effects. The attempt, of course, is to come as close as possible, in three short chapters, to the "truth" of the historical, anthropological situations. It is against the background of this truth that we wish, in Part III, to place the material relating to education.

The word-tapestry depicting Indian - white contact will be divided into three broad divisions: the first from pre-

Gold Rush days up to 1903; the second from 1903 to 1941;
and the third from 1941 to the present.



Plate No. 13. Three children of Teslin, with the lake, hills, and sky familiar to their Indian forebears reflected in the Trading Post window.

CHAPTER V

I. INDIAN - WHITE CONTACT TO 1903

Sea-borne Trade.

In pre-Gold Rush days white influence on the Teslin people, both before and after their inland migration, was almost completely indirect. As was noted earlier, the coastal Tlingit jealously guarded their favourable position with respect to white sea-borne trade, which began soon after Bering and Chirikof reached the Northwest coast in 1741.¹ By the end of the century the Russian American Company had moved its headquarters south from Kodiak to Sitka "in spite of almost continuous Tlingit hostility",² and English and American ship captains were increasing their activity from the south, developing especially trade in land animal furs, in addition to competing for sea otter pelts. In 1839, the Russians and the Hudson's Bay Company finally agreed on trade rights in Tlingit territory, but by then the sea otter industry had died out, through over-exploitation, and Russian influence waned. But, by then, white man's goods had long since penetrated the interior. The Takuqwan and their inland trading partners knew of the existence of the white man through his goods, although most did not meet a white man

¹ C. McClellan, "Culture Contacts in the Early Historic Period in Northwestern North America," Arctic Anthropology, Vol.2, No.2, 1964 p.5.

² Ibid.

until late in the 19th century, and some not until after the Klondike Gold Rush had ushered in the 20th century.

Inland Trade.

White penetration of the Yukon from the Arctic and from the east was later in coming, although when it did come white men arrived to trade their goods directly. The arrival of Alexander Murray to found Fort Yukon in 1847,³ and Robert Campbell to establish Fort Selkirk in 1848 has already been noted. These men of the Hudson's Bay Company had been preceded in 1842 by a man named Bell who travelled with his small party across the northern part of Alaska and Yukon, proceeding as far south as the present location of Mayo, but he did not set up any trading posts. The action of the Chilkat traders in burning Fort Selkirk in 1852 discouraged any penetration by traders into the upper Yukon and the territory of the Inland Tlingit until after the Gold Rush began.

Gold-seekers.

But in the early 70's gold seekers began to appear, first crossing the Chilkoot Pass in 1875 and proceeding to Lake Labarge. The first real breach in the coastal Tlingit blockade of the interior occurred following the experience of one George Holt who crossed the Chilkoot Pass in 1878, and, "entering the land of the Yukon headwaters, returned with gold to Sitka, in spite of the hostility of the Indians. A group of twenty miners supported by an American gunboat

³ Ibid., p.5. The site of Fort Yukon, so far north, was apparently deliberately chosen to counter Russian traders working up the Yukon River from St. Michael.

tried the same route and put an end to Indian hostility. From thenceforward the coast route to the Yukon was firmly established and the Indians found a means of livelihood by acting as guides and porters".⁴

By 1880, miners were apparently panning for gold on the Upper Yukon, Big and Little Salmon, Pelly, Hootalinqua, and Stewart Rivers.⁵ The Big and Little Salmon, and Hootalinqua Rivers were within the territory covered by some of the Teslin fur-gatherers and traders, so that these people's first contact with white men may have been with these prospectors.

McClellan's comment on the first contact of natives in Southern Yukon with white men is interesting. She states: "As late as 1900, natives in the upper river valleys had never seen white men in spite of the fact that their lives had been indirectly affected by white men's technology for

⁴ M.C.F. Gibbs, History of St. Saviour's, Carcross, ms., p.2.

Gold was probably first discovered in the Yukon in 1863 by Archdeacon McDonald, one of the early Anglican missionaries who had arrived in the Yukon in 1862. Here is Archdeacon McDonald's own account of his discovery. "In 1863 I went from Fort Yukon to investigate the strange noises reported by the Indians and found gold. Just below the bank on that River Kotlinjik. There were no nuggets, only gold dust. I could take it up with my hands. Strachan Jones of the Hudson's Bay wrote an account of it and it appeared in the London Times. I sent samples of it to a young man at Norway House and he tested it and found it gold." (Years afterward, when the Klondike was discovered, the London Times republished the story, showing that Archdeacon McDonald discovered gold there thirty-three years before. (1863 - 1896).

Quoted from H. Hellaby, (ed.), History of the Anglican Diocese of Yukon, ms., (1967), p.11.

⁵ H. Hellaby (ed.), History of the Anglican Diocese of Yukon, ms., p.5.

many decades."⁶ But some, at least, of the Teslin people would have met white men by then, for would-be miners passed through Callbreath in 1899 where the short-lived Hudson's Bay Company post had a white manager, and as will be noted in the next chapter, Father Alexandros of the Russian Orthodox Church baptised a number of Teslin people who journeyed to Juneau around the turn of the century. Furthermore, I have a strong impression, if no definite proof, from conversation with some members of the present-day Teslin band, that a number of coastal Tlingit from the Juneau area moved inland to the Teslin area about the turn of the century also. There seems to have been a fresh infusion of coastal influence about then, and the carriers of this influence (perhaps just a few) would almost certainly have met white men in Juneau. With regard to the trading expeditions to Juneau, which was a notable feature of Teslin life in the later years of the 19th century, McClellan comments that "the interior Indians probably did not stay long enough in Juneau to learn a great deal about white men's ways. For example, the chief Dakluwedi is said to have packed flour and baking powder from Juneau to the Liard headwaters, and all over the country during an entire winter, because he did not know how to cook it."⁷

⁶ C. McClellan, "Culture Contacts in the Early Historic Period in Northwestern North America," Arctic Anthropology, Vol.2, No.2, 1964, p.6.

⁷ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory," (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p.153.

Gold Rush

The discovery of gold at Atlin in 1894 and the consequent rush to that centre was an event of major importance. Some Teslin people were attracted across the intervening mountains to work for wages for the first time. This introduction to the monetary system and wage economy of the white man was a signal event in the long, slow, painful, and confusing adaptation of the Inland Tlingit to an alien culture, a culture which powerfully attracted even as it both visibly and imperceptibly disrupted the traditional life.

In 1892 there had been a rush of gold-seekers to Forty Mile near the present site of Dawson City, and by the end of 1892 a thousand men had settled at Circle City. Then on August 17, 1896, George Carmack with two companions found gold in the Klondike Valley, and the Gold Rush was on. In the next few years 40-50 thousand adventurers flooded in to the Yukon, and although Teslin lay at least five days journey, by riverboat or overland trail, from Whitehorse, the nearest staging point in the headlong rush to Dawson, repercussions were felt in numerous ways. A new era of cultural change had begun.

II. ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS⁸

ANALYSIS

The Pre-Contact Period.

In this brief sketch of the contact period up to and including the Gold Rush, three sub-periods are evident: first,

⁸ In this section use will be made of the Spicer scheme of analysis outlined in Chapter I.

the period up to the first actual contact with white men; second, the period from first contact up to the Gold Rush; and the third, the period during the Gold Rush itself. In terms of our analytical scheme the first of these sub-periods cannot be easily characterized, because no true contact community existed: there were no "social relations obtaining between the members of the societies in contact"⁹ because there were no person-to-person contacts. Nevertheless, during this period white society was influencing the Teslin people, although in indirect ways only. It may be called the Pre-Contact Period.

In the Pre-Contact Period the only process of cultural integration in operation was the process described by Spicer as "additive integration". White men's goods "augmented" the material culture of the Teslin people without bringing any real cultural change.

The actual length of the Pre-Contact period is difficult to determine as far as the Takuqwan are concerned. As a rough estimate it would probably not be far wrong to say that it covered most of the 19th century. This would mean that for approximately fifty years before and after their migration over the coastal mountains the Takuqwan were being influenced by white man's goods without actually coming into contact with white men. Furthermore, they were being indirectly influenced by their role as supplier of inland fur to the middlemen entrepreneurs amongst the coastal Tlingit. Thus for about a hundred years the white man was a sort of "deus ex machina" to the inland tribes.

⁹ See p.6.

But this last statement must be qualified somewhat. For it should be remembered that all during the 19th century, Athabascan peoples were being integrated into the social life of the Inland Tlingit. For some of these Athabascan people the period for which it would be sensible to speak of the white man as a "deus ex machina" would be considerably less than a hundred years, possibly as short as twenty-five years. The trade between Teslin people and the Athabascans at Ross River and Pelly would seem, for instance, not to have flourished until the last quarter of the 19th century.

The Period of First Contact.

The second of the pre-Gold Rush sub-periods saw only the most occasional meeting between white men and Inland Tlingit. Again there was no real contact community, for a community implies continuous contact. Nevertheless this period was different from the earlier one, though possibly in not much more than a psychological sense.

The white men did not at first threaten the Teslin people, for they were too few in number. Their pursuits seemed peaceful and non-competitive. They were human-sized, not giants. They wore beards, and had, besides guns and matches, intriguing things like compasses and magnifying glasses and nailed boots for climbing on rock. Those who met such men would, one may presume, spread stories about them which would not be alarming but only interesting. There was more to admire in them than to fear.

During this Period of First Contact, as it may be called,

the process of additive integration continued, though it would seem unlikely that many goods would be traded by these few prospectors and missionaries. The importance of the period lay more in preparing the Teslin people psychologically, to some degree, for the first real period of continuous contact which began shortly after the Atlin gold strike in 1894. The period of psychological preparation was about 20 years, from the late 1870's to the late 1890's.

The Gold Rush Period.

The third period of contact may be called the Gold Rush Period. The two main features of this period for the Teslin people were the short-lived trading post at Callbreath⁹ together with the several hundred miners who passed that way into the interior, and the rush at Atlin, which provided some wage work to a few Teslin Indians who journeyed there. For some Teslins then, this period was a period of continuous contact, for others it remained a period of occasional contact only. The Period of First Contact and the Gold Rush Period thus overlapped.

Both at Callbreath and at Atlin there would be the beginnings of a process of "incorporative integration." All three contact periods so far discussed were periods of non-directed contact. As soon as there was any continuous contact, incorporative integration, therefore, would be expected to flourish. The idea of money as a means of exchange was incorporated easily into Teslin culture,

⁹ At the south end of Teslin Lake.

although the idea of wage work for a fixed and regular number of hours each day was anything but easily incorporated. Even today, many Teslin Indians, in common with other Yukon Indians, find it difficult to conform to the rigorous time-schedules of the white man's work practices.

With the establishment of continuous contact the need to communicate through language became necessary. The learning of English became an important acculturative pathway for the first time. In view of the very limited vocabulary of the Tlingit-speaking Teslins, combined with the simplicity of their grammatical constructions, the learning of English would be a formidable task, especially for older people. It was to be many years before English became understood and used to any great extent in Teslin.

Cultural Linkage.

The main body of the Teslin people at this time were linked, in terms of culture contact, to the trading post at the south end of Teslin Lake, and to the Juneau area. But the Juneau linkage to white society was indirect, sporadic, and of very short duration on the occasion of any one visit to the coast by favoured groups of Teslin people. On the other hand, having a trading post run by a white man right in their midst was a convenience which was likely to enhance their existing cultural organization. When an even more convenient post was established at Nisutlin Bay closer to the centre of their trapping areas, the move to focus their activities around the newer post would seem to have been inevitable.

CHAPTER VI

INDIAN - WHITE CONTACT, 1903-1941

I THE TRADING POST

In 1903, Tom Smith, father of Andy Smith, the well-known present-day big game outfitter and guide, was said to have opened a trading post on the west shore of Nisutlin Bay near to the site of today's Nisutlin Bay Lodge. Shortly afterwards, possibly in 1904,¹ the Taylor and Drury trading firm, which by then had several branch stores throughout the Yukon, took over Tom Smith's operation. At about the same time, the Teslin people moved their cabins down the lake from New Johnstontown, setting up a permanent summer camp where the present Indian village now is, on the opposite side of the peninsula to the trading post, some 300 yards away. In the centre of an area noted for the quantity and quality of its fur-bearing animals, the Teslin people now had a ready outlet for their pelts and a convenient source of desirable white man's goods, especially his tools and certain items of food and clothing.

The white men who came to Teslin in the early days of this century, and the civilization they represented,

¹Mr. Charles Taylor, son of the co-founder of the firm, believes that it was 1903, although he is not sure. 1904 (or even 1905) seems the more likely date, however, from the testimony of several Teslin old-timers.

were held in high esteem by the Teslin people.² Open friendship was shown to the whites, who came to trade or to minister, and there was little or no trace of antagonism or suspicion of any kind. The tools of the white man - the axes, chisels, knives and hammers - were greatly admired, so much so that the Teslins' own primitive tools soon became a source of embarrassment to many of them. The story is told of how, about 1905, the villagers loaded up their canoes with their own stone axes, hammers, and other primitive instruments, and dumped them into Nisutlin Bay.

The trading post manager soon felt enough confidence in the people to advance them credit. This confidence was returned with "fairly responsible" behaviour, and most (though not all) established themselves as "good credit risks". The Indians impressed the store men as industrious

² For a description and commentary on various aspects of life in Teslin, from pre-war days through the 20's, I am indebted to Mr. Charles Taylor, the present manager of the Taylor and Drury Department store in Whitehorse. Mr. Taylor lived with his parents in Teslin for a year, in 1918, and although he was just a young boy at the time, his memory of people and events, together with information and opinion given to him by his parents, constitute a valuable source of knowledge, from the white man's point of view, of an interesting culture-contact situation. Mr. Taylor's point of view, is of course a personal one, but as he is widely known to be a man of integrity, I have made free use of his comments in what follows. Other sources of which I have availed myself include a number of members of the Teslin band, whose living testimony, though less articulate than Mr. Taylor's, blends in to give us a picture of much interest.

trappers and hunters who "did well" in what was a good trapping area. Fur prices were good - \$60 - \$120 for an average fox (compared with \$5 - \$10 today) - and, of course, the purchasing power of the dollar was many times greater in those days than today. Fur prices fell during the First World War, but rose again during the 1920's. A record price of \$1500 for a single silver fox was reported from the area before the 1929 crash, and \$500 - \$1,000 was not an uncommon price for a really good pelt. During the 1930's and 1940's prices fell considerably and, with the advent of artificial fur, prices have never returned. Indeed today, it is hardly worth anyone's time and trouble to trap in the area. In the winter of 1966-67, only one registered trap line owner made any attempt to trap.

Until registered trap lines were introduced after World War II, the Teslin people trapped in their respective "sib-owned" areas, and individual families had their own particular valleys and lakes to exploit. But the exploitation was not irresponsible. The people were natural conservationists, taking only as big a catch as their simple needs and tastes required. Their behaviour in this respect was quite unlike the behaviour of some white trappers who so cleaned out the marten from one area of central Yukon around 1900 that it took over twenty years for the species to come back.

II THE MISSION CHURCH AND SCHOOL

A few years after the trading post was opened on Nisutlin Bay and the Teslin people had made their permanent summer camp on the opposite side of the peninsula, the first Christian Church, a small, simple log structure, with a corrugated tin roof, was built on the south shore of the peninsula between the trading post and the Indian village. It was built, with local help, by one Joe Wilson, son of the Episcopal minister at Juneau, during the summer of 1908.³ Beginning with a Mr. Jack Bethell a succession of Anglican theological students then came to Teslin each summer to bring the Christian message, prepare candidates for baptism and confirmation, and to teach school. Most of these students would stay for one summer only, but some stayed for several years, and occasionally one, such as Mr. Charles Brett in 1912-13, stayed all winter, caught perhaps by an unexpectedly early freeze-up. In some years, however, no student would come at all. The Anglican Bishop of Yukon would usually visit the community once each year, towards the end of August, for a service of confirmation.

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How this came about I was not able to ascertain. The Episcopal minister in Juneau would undoubtedly have known of the Teslin people's journeys to Juneau for Baptismal rites in the Russian Orthodox Church. Father Alexandros apparently went "over to Rome" some time later. The Anglican Church was the only Christian denomination active in the Yukon at the time, and furthermore, being doctrinally close to the Russian Church, would be a suitable communion to nurture the seeds sown by Father Alexandros.

Interpreters

Only a few of the Indian people had much command of the English language, so that an interpreter was often necessary. An interpreter was regularly used in church and often at the trading post. Those few who could act as interpreters took pride in their ability and achieved considerable prestige amongst their own people, particularly in the early days of the century. Prestige gained in this way, however, did not hold indefinitely without being affected by other considerations such as inherited social position and behaviour within the native social order. And, of course, as more people learned English, the importance of interpreters decreased.

According to Mr. Taylor, the native vocabulary of the Indian people in central Yukon was then about 600 words. Teslin vocabulary would possibly be a bit higher as these Inland Tlingit have been generally considered, by white men who have possessed personal comparative data, to be the most mentally advanced of all the native Yukon groups. Nevertheless, learning to speak English could not have been an easy task. Learning to read and write and do simple arithmetic would represent a considerable achievement.

III ASPECTS OF LIFE, 1910-1930

Wage-work

A limited amount of work cutting wood for the river steam boats, and acting as porters or as deck hands was

engaged in by a few of the Teslin people, but in those days wages were no great incentive to the Indian people. A month-and-a-half was a good average length of service in wage-earning jobs. In those days the Indian had little need for money. His wants were few. Wages supplemented basic subsistence, and only gradually did the awareness grow of the importance of money as a symbol of status in white society.

Drinking

Drinking was not a problem nor did it become one until after the Alaska Highway went through. The trading post sold neither intoxicating drink nor the ingredients which would make "home-brew" easy to make.

The First World War

News of the First World War came to the Teslin people as something of a cultural shock, for it was at first inconceivable to them that white men could slaughter each other. Basically peaceable by nature, they looked back on their forebears' "wars" with their Tahltan neighbours with distaste, and admired what they naively thought was the ethic governing white society: "Love thy neighbour as

thyself" and "Love thine enemy".⁴

A Second Trading Post

During the 1920's fur prices were good and Teslin enjoyed a kind of prosperity. In the mid 1920's competition for the Taylor and Drury establishment arrived when a Mr. McCleary opened another trading post in Teslin not many yards south of Taylor and Drury's.⁵ His attempt the previous year to open a post on an island up the Nisutlin River had not been successful, but when he opened in Teslin he got an immediate and favourable response from the Teslin people. According to Mr. Taylor he had an advantage at first in being more flexible than the branch store of a large organization, but in any case the local people enjoyed the advantages of having two outlets for their fur catches as well as another source of credit. It seems that some immediately sought credit from

⁴ None of the native men went off to the war from Teslin, although at least a couple of Tagish Indians from the Carcross area did. One Teslin native told me how he received a call-up notice in 1917 when he was at school in Carcross. He was then aged 20 and in his third year at school. Reporting to the R.C.M.P. officer in Carcross, he complained that one of his legs was "gammy". The officer told him to throw away his call-up notice.

John Drury, brother of W.S. Drury, co-founder of the Taylor and Drury firm, had been working at the post in Teslin. When he left to go to war, the native people were mystified and unhappy, but they rejoiced when he returned unharmed some years later. These reports about World War I are Mr. Taylor's)

⁵ Mrs. Harlin, the former Mrs. McCleary, thinks it was in 1923 that she first came to Teslin. Mr. Charles Taylor thinks that Mr. McCleary opened his store in 1925 or 1926.

the new establishment, conveniently forgetting their debts to the old. This practice was not unknown in other trading centres in the Yukon.

IV ASPECTS OF LIFE, 1930-1941 .

The Depression

When the depression came, fur prices slipped, but the purchasing power of the dollar was strong, and the depression, which hit hard in other parts of Canada, did not drastically affect the Teslin economy. Indeed the Yukon experienced something of a "break" during the depression, for gold increased in value, and as in the Cariboo country in central British Columbia, old mining operations were re-worked and profits made. This, of course, affected Teslin only indirectly.

Seasonal Activity

In 1934 Mr. Robert Ward arrived in Teslin as a young theological student to carry on the work of the Church. He flew in by flying boat from Carcross, in May, before the Indians had returned from their beaver hunt, landing in a patch of water in Nisutlin Bay and breaking ice to get ashore. He stayed only one summer, but returned in 1940 to remain over the next few years during construction of

the Alaska Highway.⁶

In the years immediately preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War and the subsequent cultural onslaught brought about by the highway, Teslin Indians enjoyed many of the blessings of peace and quietness. Their village was the focal point for an annual cycle of activities long established. Here in this quiet corner of the world the people of Teslin followed in tranquillity the call of the seasons. Mr. Ward⁷ remembers the seasonal activity:

Toward the end of August each family, depending on how far they had to go, started off. Their boats were loaded right up to the gills, and off they'd go. It would take, sometimes, two weeks to get to their trapping grounds. Those who went up the Nisutlin River, especially, had to go early because the river dropped quickly and they had to get up beyond the bars so that they could get their winter supplies all settled . . . The Johnsontown people from B.C. left in early September. They went away down to the head of the lake and established themselves there. (During the summertime, the Johnsontown group would make at least two trips down to B.C. to see how their garden was going. They used to plant vegetables there before they came to town and they would make their trips down to see how things were going.) The village was pretty much deserted until around Christmas time when they would come in with their furs and/or for a Christmas celebration. Off they would go again and they would come back sometime around easter, and then

⁶ Mr. Ward had generously commented on some of his experiences and impressions during this historic "watershed" period of Teslin history, and in the section which follows I have availed myself of much of his evidence. Again, I have used other sources as well, including local residents of Teslin, both Indian and white.

⁷ Now, as the Rev. Robert Ward, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, in Kearny, New Jersey. The quotation is transcribed from tape.

they would again get supplies and go off on their beaver and muskrat hunt. Then they would come back in May⁸. . . and until the end of August we would have them in town . . . They had their ceremonies 'back and forth'; they had their dances. We had church; we had school; we had games; we always had a great time on the first of July. One day on the first of July we even had snow during our athletic events! We had races on land - all sorts of contests . . . And then there was the great boat race out on the lake, when, away back in 1934, they had their Evinrude and Johnson engines. They were four-cylinder affairs, and they would stand there holding the gasoline can over the engine as they roared down all out. The boats they used were not modern hydroplanes but rather the old work horses that they used to go up the river in the fall and down to Teslin in early summer - their work boats, and when those things got revved up it was a horrible noise . . . and great shouts of glee as they moved past each other.

The "Good" Days

The older villagers today look back on those pre-war days as the good days, "not like today". By the unanimous report of a number of white people who visited Teslin then the village and the houses were kept spotlessly clean. Mr. Jack Hulland, former Superintendent of Yukon schools for the Territorial Government, remembers how, in 1931, it was customary for each family to scrub floors every Saturday morning.⁹ The people were healthy, food was plentiful, and their clothing combined the advantages of store-bought shirts, trousers, and dresses with the superb cold-defeating quality of native fur-lined moose-hide

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Some would not return until June.

⁹

Personal interview, September 16, 1967.

jackets, parkas, mocassins, and gloves. The people lived in a purposeful routine. Although some of the old cultural norms were being questioned, and even violated by some of the young,¹⁰ one could not begin to described the community as socially disintegrating in anything like the way, for example, Honigmann describes social disintegration in five northern Canadian communities in a paper written in 1965,¹¹ or as Balicki described social change in Old Crow in the 1960's¹². Life was not, perhaps, idyllic, but it was basically good.

The Ingenuity of George Johnstone

Indeed, before the Second World War, Teslin society was adapting to the impinging industrial-technological culture of North America in a "creatively-enlarging manner",¹³ as the following story shows.

¹⁰ Mr. Ward remembers two young fellows moving out of the group because they would not take old widows for wives as the old folk wanted them to, in accordance with custom.

¹¹ John J. Honigmann, "Social Disintegration in Five Northern Canadian Communities," Canadian Revue of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol.2, November, 1965.

¹² Asen Balicki, Vunta Kutchin Social Change, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Ottawa, 1964.

¹³ The phrase is Ashley Montagu's. For a picture of George Johnston, one of the "B.C." Teslin Indians, see p.110.

It is a story worth quoting in full for it illustrates superbly well one aspect of the culture-contact situation in the 1930's.

"George Johnstone of Teslin was a most enterprising person. The winter of 1931-32 was a good trapping season and George had brought in a very fine catch. He also had far-reaching ideas, so made arrangements with the Chevrolet Agency in Whitehorse to purchase a four-door sedan so that he could travel between his winter home in Johnstontown in British Columbia and Teslin in the Yukon (over the ice, of course.)

As I recall the story, George took possession of the car in Whitehorse after the spring trapping was completed and was given a number of lessons in driving on the city streets. His problem was by no means solved, since the sedan must be transported to Teslin (five days by overland dog-trail or by summer water-travel) before he could get any use out of it. At that time the Taylor and Drury Company used their own launch and barge to supply the various trading posts they owned along the rivers of the north country. Delivery was not immediate because George had to wait until the waters of the Teslin River were high enough to allow the laden barge and launch to get over the bar on the Teslin River at Livingstone Landing. It was a frustrating wait but finally George and his prized possession left Whitehorse for the short trip down the Lewes River, through Lake LaBarge, down the Hootalinqua River and then the long haul up the Teslin River and half-way up Teslin Lake. At last the great day arrived when the Indian Village of Teslin hove in sight and, rounding the point into Nisutlin Bay, the T & D launch pushed the barge onto the beach in the cove. George Johnson then rigged up the means to get his Chevrolet onto the shore. But once on the beach, where was he to go? There was no road, nor had there been any need for a road since dog teams were the only means of land transportation up to that time.

So George set about and built a road - up from the beach between the Taylor and Drury Store and the Nisutlin Trading Post (owned by Robin McCleary) to the top of the rise, then through a flat marshy spot to the Indian Village facing the lake. A short time later George was to cut out a road four miles down the lake (but back from the shore) to Fox Creek, one of the many small streams that fed into Teslin Lake. This was quite a road, with primitive culverts and short-span pole

bridges. It also had some hairy "thank-you-mams" as it went from hump to hump. But George put it to good use. He ran a taxi service in the summer with a nominal charge for the ride. I was a privileged guest the summer of 1934 and marvelled at the ingenuity of this fellow.

But to get back to the reason why George Johnston had originally purchased the Chevrolet sedan.

George had to wait patiently for winter to cover the lake with a full three to four feet of ice before he would risk such an investment. After Christmas, when he came to Teslin by dog-team to trade his skins and to get supplies, George was able to set out for Johnstontown in British Columbia over the lake ice in his sedan. While winter lasted he hunted wolves from the car on the lake ice . . . and did very well by it. He was able to sneak up on the packs of wolves that would have fled from a dog team coming towards them over the ice. It must have been quite a sight to have seen a carload of people suddenly open fire from the windows of a sedan far out on the ice of Lake Teslin into a pack of unsuspecting wolves. The bounty fee given by the British Columbia Government in those days made it worth-while when added to the trading post price for the skins. George made regular use of the sedan during the winter seasons hauling supplies and passengers back and forth from the post. With the car he was able to cut trail-time to a few hours instead of the one or two days required for the dog-team trip between Johnstontown and Teslin.

Years passed.

In the spring of 1941 when Nisutlin Bay had opened up, but there was still solid ice in Teslin Lake itself a float plane swooped down at Teslin and a group of surveyors and their equipment arrived. These Americans were from the Public Roads Administration and they were going to survey a road to Alaska. They decided that a good place to put a bridge across Nisutlin Bay would be just beyond Indian Graveyard Point and that the road should bypass Teslin Post and the Indian Village but proceed down the level ground just back from the lake-shore

Sure you guessed it. They used the alignment that George had hacked out of the bush so many years before . . . and was still using for his lone Chevrolet sedan. About three and a half miles George Johnston's four mile road

is now part of the Alaska Highway."¹⁴

The ingenuity of George Johnstone was not restricted to automobile transportation or road-building. With the help of his brother Frank, he also designed and built an inboard-engined boat of considerable size which he used for a number of years on the waterways around Teslin. He gave me an old photograph of this craft (see Plate No.). When I asked George, aged 77 in the summer of 1967, where he learned how to design and build a boat, he smiled, and pointing to his head said, "From here". He had seen many boats, of course, in his trips to Juneau, where he had, apparently, "like the wise old owl", observed shipwrights in action.

Connections to the Outside World

George, of course, was an outstanding individual, yet his life's activities illustrate what was possible in the first half of this century. George, it should be remembered, was fourteen when the permanent summer village was set up in Nisutlin Bay and steady economic and cultural contact with white society was established through the trading post, with its steam-boat connection to Whitehorse and the White Pass and Yukon route to the outside world.

¹⁴ "B.C.", By George, he did it . . . before the Highway, in H. Hellaby (ed.) History of the Anglican Diocese of Yukon ms., pp. 120-2.

The first Teslin native to take that route to the outside world was Charlie Bob, in 1938. He went to Vancouver, stayed at the Y.M.C.A., rode on the street-cars, and returned with many stories. George Johnston followed soon after, again stopping in Vancouver. The white residents kidded him on his return about blazing trail on the telephone poles in the city. Undoubtedly these were years, even before the highway went through, when an awareness of the outside world was growing within Teslin society. In 1937, for example, the first air mail from Edmonton to Whitehorse was flown in a plane piloted by Grant McConachie and Ted Field, and Robin McCleary began clearing an emergency airstrip to the northwest of the village. Radios, too, found their way into some Teslin homes before the war, and American Army engineers were amazed, when they arrived, to discover native people listening to newscasts by short-wave, and reading national magazines.¹⁵

Yet for all these aspects of a dynamic culture - contact situation it was the dawn attack on Pearl Harbour, December 7th 1941, which made certain that a much more dynamic contact situation would soon develop when the plans for the Alaska Highway, already far advanced, were carried out in 1942.

¹⁵ Robert Ward, personal communication, March, 1968. A radio repeater station, for long-wave transmission, was not installed in Teslin until 1960.



Plate No. 14. George Johnston,
Teslin, 1967.



Plate No. 15. Mr. & Mrs. Frank Johnston
mounting the 14 h.p. engine
in George Johnstone's 22ft.
boat, after repairs.

V SIGNS OF IMPENDING CHANGE

The Roman Catholic Church

The year previous to the American Army's arrival saw signs of impending change. In the fall of 1940, after the village had become almost deserted following the annual exodus to the trapping grounds, Father Drean, a French-Canadian priest of the Roman Catholic Church, arrived with plans to bring the ministrations of his church to the community. Simultaneously, other Roman Catholic priests began work in places like Lower Post and Burwash Landing - places like Teslin soon to find themselves on the Alaska Highway when it had been built two years later. For some years previously the Roman Catholic Church had been active in Whitehorse and Dawson City, but this new activity represented a fresh turn in the policy of the Episcopal Corporation of the Yukon. The change in policy was possibly influenced by advance intelligence of plans to build the Alcan Road.¹⁶

Father Drean built a log cabin in the middle of the so-called white village, just above Taylor and Drury's store, and in the spring enlisted some Indians to help him build a church nearby.

¹⁶ See Appendix B for Robert Ward's account of these and other aspects of the arrival in Teslin of the Roman Catholic Church.

With the building, property lines suddenly become important where no one had much bothered before. Relations between the McClearys and Father Drean deteriorated later, in a dispute over these property lines. For the first time, apparently, a social division appeared in the white community of Teslin. In a very short time after building the church, Father Drean succeeded in drawing many of the Indians to the Roman Catholic faith. A number of the Indian families became split in their church allegiances. Before long about 75% of the Indians had become, at least nominally, Roman Catholic. How deep the new denominational division amongst the Indians went is difficult to say. The division did not seem to follow rigidly along sib lines. Because of this, it would seem reasonable to suggest that the entry into Teslin of Christian denominationalism tended to weaken some aspects, at least, of the native forms of social organization.

VI ANALYSIS

Looking back over the period from 1903 to 1942 we can see, as the two chief features of the contact situation, the trading posts, and the missionary church. We may call this period, then, the Trading-Post Mission Period. From the late 1920's the power of the state was also experienced in continuous fashion, but it was more symbolized in the R.C.M.P. constable than felt in any interfering way. The

R.C.M.P. guaranteed the Teslin people's freedom to exploit their trapping and hunting area without worry over either Tahltan encroachments or white monopoly domination. The policeman was more a respected friend than the feared arm of restrictive law.

The period as a whole shows both directed and non-directed contact as well as all the processes of integration. Insofar as the period reveals any trend it is from non-directed towards directed change, and from incorporative integration towards assimilation, but the trend was not very strong. The dominant process seems to have been incorporation, but it does not seem possible to gain a simple clear-cut picture from the data. Let us look first of all at the role of the missionaries in relation to the stability of the native culture.

The missionaries seemed to have been welcomed, for the first conversions had been among the high prestige "Juneau" people, and the building of the first church building was also connected with Juneau, helping to assure its popular acceptance by a people who so far viewed white men in their midst (in the summer months only) as a great convenience. After an initial difficulty about boys and girls coming to the mission school together,¹⁷ the church-plus-school was happily incorporated into the social life of the

¹⁷ See Chapter VIII.

people, and the white man's teaching both incorporated into and fused with traditional forms of thought.

On the whole in the sphere of religion a long, gradual fusing of Christian theology with traditional Indian beliefs took place. Mr. Ward records how the Teslin people used some of their old Russian icons when he first went to Teslin in 1934. One person, it seems, had a very sore knee. An old Russian crucifix was brought on the scene, and water poured in until it rose to the knee on the corpus. Then the affected person drank the water "because it was good medicine". Shamans continued their activities well into the forties, particularly with regard to their attempts to deal with physical ailments. The application of native 'cures' concocted from various herbs, was always accompanied, it seems, by ancient incantations, the donning of fancy regalia, and the use of ceremonial rattles. But the Teslin people would also take white man's medicines: they were willing to try almost anything in the spirit of true pragmatism.

One of the most important things that can be noted up to 1942 is that the Teslin Indians' cultural inheritance from the 19th century retained considerable force, even though it was shaken and weakened in a number of respects. Their subsistence activities continued much as before, but with greater ease made possible by the trading posts in their midst, and by the addition to their material culture of such useful items as outboard engines, frying pans, heavy boots,

and sharp knives for skinning. The culture-linking roles played by missionary, trader, and policeman had no oppressive sanctions attached: school was voluntary, and many, both adult and children, learned to read and write as well as to speak English; the traders were fair, and trade was mutually advantageous; and the white man's law enforcement was agreeable and helpful.

The factors most tending to disruption of traditional patterns of belief and practice came, it would seem, from growing knowledge of the outside world, communicated by the white people in their midst, by radio and magazine, and by their own explorers of the 'outside', Charlie Bob, George Johnstone, and one or two others. Changes in "world view" must have been inevitable as a result, and with those changes the foundation of their own traditional culture could never again be secure.

CHAPTER VII

INDIAN - WHITE CONTACT, AFTER 1941.

I. EFFECT ON TESLIN OF HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION

In the spring of 1941, a group of surveyors from the U. S. Public Roads Administration arrived in Teslin by air, and began laying out a highway, working both ways from the village. By the following spring, construction had started. Hundreds of men and tons of equipment were put to work. At the peak of construction, in the summer of 1942, 35,000 men were working on the road between Teslin and Burwash.¹ This represented more than a seven-fold increase in the total population of the Yukon Territory. In the previous summer there were only about 1000 white people in the same area, mostly in Whitehorse; in Teslin there were about half a dozen white people.

In Teslin it was evident from the start that some thought for the well-being of the Indians had been given by American Army officers. High officials came in before construction started to tell Teslin people what to expect. From the outset, army 'brass' decided that the Indian village would be 'off limits' to army personnel, that no one should go into the village unless they were accompanied by the R.C.M.P. or by one of the missionaries. The Indians, however, were not prevented from entering the army camp.

¹ This figure was given to me by Mr. Gordon R. Cameron, former Commissioner of the Yukon Territory, who was living in Whitehorse at the time.

The Change of Food

When the army did arrive in numbers, in the spring of 1942, there was a great flurry of excitement. The army immediately gave the Indians free access to their camp, and very soon both adults and children moved in to see what was happening, and were fed at the mess house with open-hearted generosity. The change of food was the first thing that began to affect the native people. They were so interested in watching what was happening that they neither went out hunting or fishing, nor, when the time arrived in late August, did they head off for their winter trapping grounds. The American soldiers had plenty of money available to buy the superb gloves, mocassins, and beadwork of various kinds, from the Indian women, and a lively trade sprang up overnight. With the money so obtained, food was bought in the store. Thus, store-bought food and mess-house handouts combined to alter drastically the almost hundred percent meat diet of the people.

Disease

Soon after, diseases of various kinds were rampant in the village.² The change in diet may have been a contributing factor, but, in any case, attacks were of epidemic proportions. At one time in the fall there were only three or four men in the whole Indian community fit enough to do any work at all. An emergency hospital

² Measles and spinal meningitis were, apparently, the chief disablers.

was set up in the Anglican Mission House and the Anglican Church building, and the American Army medical staff from Morley Bay came to the rescue with their medicines and their skill. The experience was, nevertheless, a devastating one for a people who had previously "never experienced any diseases more serious than a bad cold".³

II. TESLIN BECOMES A YEAR - ROUND HOME.

When most had recovered from their sickness after Christmas, they decided to leave town and go back to the trap lines and their accustomed way of life, but in the years which followed, more and more of them, finding that they could now resist the new diseases, stayed in the village the year round. They did so because, as a number of them frankly thought, life was easier that way. "It is hard in the bush", they would say. But, in fact, a whole complex of factors was at work, after the highway was built, to change the long-established life routines of the Teslin people.

The New Transportation Facilities

As soon as the highway was built, many of the Indians took to travelling on it. They rode on the trucks, and moved back and forth with the work gangs visiting their friends. George Johnstone, of course, had the great thrill of driving his Chevrolet into Whitehorse. Soon, other

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This is hard to believe, but its truth was attested to by several long-time Teslin residents. It is certainly true that the Teslins were generally a healthy people, and their folk lived to remarkable ages.

Indians who had saved money bought their own forms of highway transport - ramshackle old trucks, pickups and cars. They used these, now, to reach their traplines and hunting grounds, driving up the Canol Road from Johnson's Crossing to Ross River, as well as down the Alaska Highway to Swift River.

Collapse of the Trapping Economy

Registered traplines. Within a few years of the war's end, however, the Canadian Government, in a carte blanche directive, decreed that all trappers should trap only on their own registered traplines.⁴ The country of the Inland Tlingit was, therefore, divided up. No longer could groups of families, interdependent and co-operative, cover together the areas where, each year, the sought-for animals would happen to be. The key concept in the former trapping life had been sharing, but now the white man's emphasis on 'mine' and 'thine' was imposed upon these natural communities of hunters and food gatherers. "It was better when this country was free" was a sentiment shared by many in Teslin, in the summer of 1967.

Falling fur prices. The introduction of this new concept of ownership, applied to the traplines themselves,

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Attempts have been made by Teslin people to get the law changed, but with no success. It probably now would make little difference in terms of economic gain to change the law, but it might well bring a measure of psychological balm to older Teslin people whose sib orientations are still important.

occurred at a time of falling fur prices.⁵ The purchasing power of the dollar also fell steadily in the period of post-war inflation, so that the attractions of the old trapping life quickly faded into memory.

The Public School

In 1947, the Yukon Territorial Government opened the first public school in Teslin, using the old Taylor and Drury store. (See Plate No.) Miss Mary Clancy, Teslin's first public school teacher, rode over to Teslin from Carcross on her horse to begin her work. The following year the Federal Government announced a change in policy respecting Indian children. It stated, in effect, that Indian children, if clean and healthy, could be admitted to public schools operated by the Territorial Government. For the first time, therefore, Teslin children could live at home while attending year-round school. Soon, many Indian parents were availing themselves of this opportunity, not only, however, for the reason that they saw such an arrangement as an educational advantage for their children. The compulsory attendance

⁵ A comparison of fur-prices for 1944 and 1952 is given below. The 1952 figure is given in brackets.

Beaver \$50 (\$10)

Marten \$85-100 (\$10-\$18)

Lynx \$70 (\$4)

Red & Cross Fox \$10-16 (\$2-\$4)

These figures are taken from a paper presented by June Helm MacNeish to the Canadian Political Science Association at London, Ontario, June 4, 1953.

law of the country, now enforced, could be used to advantage by parents in claiming social assistance. For if their children had to go to school, and they could choose to send them to the local school, then the parents had to remain at home in the village all winter to care for them, and could not go out trapping - in the cold winter, in the bush, for animals of little and decreasing value.

The new transportation possibilities afforded by the highway, the decreasing value of fur, the institution of registered trap lines, and the advent of a local year-round school were all significant factors in changing Teslin, for the Indians, from a permanent summer camp into a permanent year-round place of residence.

III. CHANGES DURING THE 1950's AND 1960's

The Changing Community

During the 1950's and 1960's more white people came to live in the community. Mixed marriages increased, and the number of children of mixed parentage swelled. A motel, cafe, and garage, as well as the Nisutlin Bay Lodge, all opened in the immediate post-war years to cater for a growing volume of tourist traffic on the highway. Department of Transport and Department of Public Works employees and their families came to live near the village; the Forestry Department opened a station; a new school was built in 1951, and again in 1965, with two, three, and eventually five teachers coming to try to make relevant for the lives of their pupils an educational programme

devised in Victoria, B.C., 1700 miles away in southern Canada.

Boarding Education

The Roman Catholic Church, with federal assistance, began to provide the opportunity of boarding school education for Yukon Indians, first at Grouard School in Alberta, and then from 1951 onwards, at Lower Post School in British Columbia, just across the Yukon border from Watson Lake. The Anglican Church, with like federal assistance, greatly expanded the operation of Chooutla Indian Residential School in Carcross after a new building was constructed in 1954.

Hospitalization

Another significant change in the life of Teslin in the post-war period was brought about by the activities of public health authorities. Because of the work of public health doctors and nurses, a half dozen or more people of various ages were sent out to Whitehorse and to the Charles Camshell Hospital in Edmonton. This hospital experience was important for acculturation. Tuberculosis patients, in particular, stayed for many months, during which time they learned much about the mainstream of Canadian life. They were in constant contact with English-speaking hospital personnel. Their vocabularies and concepts grew rapidly, as well as their facility in the use of what they already knew of the language. They became much more familiar with the written word, in newspapers, magazines, and books, than ever they would in Teslin. Those who could read at

all when they went into hospital left greatly improved readers. And the pictures, advertisements, and cartoons all made their impact.

The hospital experience involved a journey of many miles by road, and sometimes even by air, to the environs of a large modern metropolis. The cultural impact was certainly great. The hospital routines, the shift-work, the scientific premises of the medical attention, the cleanliness, the variety in diet, the interaction with other patients from equally distant places, the different topics of conversation - all these factors combined to produce an experience which tended to change a person's outlook on life in radical ways. And the younger the person, the greater the change was likely to be.⁶

Education, Mass Media, and the Generation Gap

The phenomenon of the generation gap is common, it would seem, to all societies in times of rapid social change. The phrase "rapid social change" is perhaps adequate to describe change in North American society

⁶ A Yukon Indian student, the first from the Yukon to attend a Canadian university, now in his third year at the University of B.C., was sent by air to Edmonton as a T.B. patient at the age of six. This experience was one of the most important in his life. Not only did he get a headstart in school, but his eyes were opened, in a happy way, to the culture to which school was afterward seen to be relevant. His attitude to school was therefore always positive.

in recent years, but it is totally inadequate to describe change in Teslin since 1941. The changes there have been so rapid and far reaching as to justify the use of the adjective "overwhelming". The fact, then, that the generation gap has become a gulf, an almost unbridgeable chasm, is not a very surprising consequence. That bridges can still be maintained in some families in Teslin today is more an indication of the firmness of the footings, concreted by affection in the early years, than it is of a narrow gulf between the young and old.

Education of children in the boarding schools and the secular public schools, as well as the influence of movies and radio, have been very important factors in widening the gulf between the generations. The influence of the mass media⁷ on the young is much greater than it is on the old because of the greater fluency which the young have with the English language.

Drink

Until this most recent period of culture contact, the excessive consumption of alcohol was never a problem for Teslin people. Home brew was sometimes made, but not, it seems, in great quantities, nor was it, apparently, particularly potent or even palatable. Since World War II, however, the consumption of alcoholic beverages has increased enormously - first of all, from the operations of bootleggers, but most of all from the extension to

⁷ Movies came to Teslin with the American Army in 1942; radios appeared before World War II, but only in recent years has it been possible to receive broadcast band transmissions from a repeater station.

the Indians of liquor rights by the Federal Government in 1963, under the doctrine of equality.

There can be no doubt today of the excessive consumption of alcohol by Teslin Indians. Nor can there be any doubt that it has had a degrading and disintegrating effect. Mrs. Harlin (formerly Mrs. McCleary), the proprietor of the Nisutlin Bay Lodge, returned to Teslin in 1966 after a ten-year absence. She was struck by the depressing changes which had occurred in the lives of the Indians, and was particularly upset by the great increase in drunkenness. In the spring of 1968, Catherine McClellan also noted a great change for the worse amongst the Teslin people whom she had first met during her research activities in 1948. Father Pleine, the Roman Catholic priest in charge of the Teslin parish today, says, "Drink is ruining the Indians. More people have died from drink lately than from natural causes."⁸ John Bone, an Indian from Atlin, age reputedly over 100, visited his friends in Teslin for three weeks during August, 1967. He had intended to stay for a much longer time, but left. "Too much drinking here", he said.⁹

Social Disintegration

"By definition", Honigmann says, "disintegration implies a breakdown in the operation of social relations from one point in time to another. Social disintegration means the fragmentation and malfunctioning of a social

⁸ Personal interview, August 30, 1967.

⁹ Words spoken to Father Pleine.

system from whatever cause."¹⁰ The depressing picture seen in so many disintegrating northern societies is today reproduced in Teslin, though in hues considerably less harsh than in some. There is little violence in Teslin today, and the R.C.M.P. consider it a quiet posting, but Honigmann's definitions would apply, nevertheless, to Teslin over the past decade or so.

Many of the people are on welfare payments of one kind or another; only two or three have any kind of a regular job; the old trapping economy has collapsed; the old cultural orientations have been badly, if not completely, disturbed; and the generation gaps have widened. The precious satisfactions and meanings which a certain continuity of life from one generation to another can give have slipped away from many older people. For them there is a deep emptiness.

IV ANALYSIS

In looking back over the contact period from 1941, and searching for a name to help characterize the period, a number of thoughts come to mind. First of all, the highway literally put Teslin on the map of Canada. Teslin was brought into touch with the mainstream of Canadian society by bringing the 'outside' in, as trucks and cars

¹⁰ John Honigmann, "Social Disintegration in Five Northern Canadian Communities," Canadian Revue of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 2, Nov., 1965.

and trailers flowed steadily by, as well as by opening up an easy route to that outside world. Secondly, the post-war development of the Yukon territory, which soon caused a rapid growth of white population, was very greatly facilitated by the fact of the highway and other roads which soon branched out from it. The highway was the single most important cause of the economic development of the Yukon in the ten or twenty years after 1945, according to Mr. Gordon Cameron, the former Commissioner of the Yukon Territory.¹¹ Thirdly, the secular aspects of the mainstream of Canadian Society now for the first time became dominant in Teslin. And fourthly, the trapping economy collapsed.

The name, relating to culture contact, which would best seem to fit the period is the Period of Indigenous Cultural Disintegration. Starting out as the best of times it soon turned to the worst of times; it was, and continues to be, a time of bewildering change, a time of confusion and disruption and the "buzzing of many mosquitos".¹²

During this period the linkage to white culture became multiple: health authorities; school teachers; police (now less friendly, more impersonal); mail

¹¹ Personal interview, October 25, 1968.

¹² An expression used by one of the few nativistically inclined Teslins to describe the sound of several white men talking simultaneously.

order stores; tourists; husbands, wives, and children; work partners; welfare workers; beer parlour operators; bus drivers; clergymen; hitchhikers; transient labourers; drifters; forestry men; pilots; holiday hunters and fishermen; Department of Transport and Public Works employees; garagemen; and truck drivers. The roles played by white men are now nearly always superordinate; Indian roles nearly always subordinate. The Indian Agent acts through a band chief, but this chief has no hereditary authority amongst his own people. Traditional beliefs, customs, and sanctions are rapidly disappearing; many of the young are leaving home, not only for school and jobs in Whitehorse and 'outside', but for good.

The trend from incorporative integration to assimilation is now strongly set; nearly all the girls want to marry a white man, and the boys aspire to trade competencies which are financially rewarding yet not too demanding in terms of training time. But the times are not happy: the old people, with few exceptions, sink in apathy and reverie, rousing themselves only to complain about the 'government', and get drunk according to the measure of their income; many of the middle-aged, cushioned by 'welfare', inhabit their own unsatisfying world of illusions, and achieve a greater depth and frequency of drunkenness than the old folk; the teenagers and those in their twenties despairingly hope for the best, knowing they will be the last to be hired and the first to be laid off, and seek, most of them, to kill boredom with booze.

Only the very young, released from school, playing happily in the tumbling fireweed or poling a raft along the shores of their lovely lake, do not get drunk.



Plate No. 16. "Huck" and "Tom",
Teslin, 1967.

PART C

The following three chapters will be devoted to a consideration of educational influences on the Teslin people during the contact periods discussed in Part II. In Chapter VIII, the work of the Mission School will be considered, as the native processes of enculturation gradually lost their relevance to life in a new age. In Chapter IX, the history of two residential schools, one Anglican and the other Roman Catholic, will be presented in relation to the experiences of Teslin children who attended those institutions. Finally, in Chapter X, a survey will be made of the State's enormously increased involvement with Indian education since World War II, both in Teslin and in other places to which Teslin students may now go for secondary, post-secondary and special education.

CHAPTER VIII

I NATIVE ENCULTURATION AND THE MISSION SCHOOL

Seven years after the Teslin Indians made their move to a permanent summer camp near to the Nisutlin trading Post in 1903, Mr. Jack Bethell, a young Anglican theological student, arrived as Teslin's first resident missionary. He entered into a tradition long established in the Canadian West, in which the work of a mission school was considered a vital part of the mission church's activity. Mr. Bethell left after one year, and in succeeding summers other students arrived for a four-month stint of missionary work, of which teaching the three R's formed the basic part. This practice continued, intermittently, until the end of World War II.

The work of this school, which represented one of the first aspects of directed contact from white society, will, perhaps, be better understood when seen against some of the enculturative practices of 19th century Teslin society, insofar as knowledge of these are available from McClellan's salvage ethnography and the testimony of old-timers.

II ASPECTS OF ENCULTURATION AMONG THE INLAND TLINGIT

Method of Education

The method of education of the Inland Tlingit was, apparently, very informal. Watching, listening, doing,

would appear to have been the three-fold method of learning, as far as old timers are able to explain it. One informant in Teslin in the summer of 1967, who was much more articulate on this subject than any of the others, used the phrase, 'like a wise old owl', to illustrate the ideal of wisdom on the part of the learner which she believed was held by her society "in the early days". Over and over again she emphasized that this ideal operated within a tradition of great respect for elders. "No one ever talked back", she said, referring to children's behaviour towards parents and "grandparents". Yet there does not seem to have been any need for severe punishments or stringent routines in most aspects of children's upbringing. One gets the impression that an easy-going informality was the order of the day, similar to that which regulated the upbringing of children in Kwakiutl society. Certainly there was none of the harshness and rigorous conditioning such as marked, for example, the education of Hopi children. Children generally seemed to have enjoyed much indulgent affection from parents and "grandparents". Any rigour that was needed, either for character development or for competence, was supplied by the ever-present reality of nature, unremitting in her demands.

Co-operation was the rule of survival, and children helped in day-to-day tasks according to their abilities and the prescriptions of tradition. Boys learned to trap and hunt and fish, and the girls to prepare food and make clothing. Yet there does not seem to have been any rigid division of

labour between male and female. According to the same informant who spoke about the wise old owl, men and women became reasonably competent in each other's basic tasks.

Preparation for Marriage

If any aspect of upbringing could be considered strict, it was that aspect concerned with preparation for marriage. At puberty girls went into a period of seclusion, usually for two years.¹ Detailed accounts of the training given during this period are not yet available, although it is expected that McClellan's forthcoming book on the peoples of Southern Yukon will reveal whatever she has gleaned on this subject from her patient efforts at salvage ethnography in the area over the past twenty years. In an article written in 1961, she says "there are hints that there may have been somewhat similar puberty observances for boys and girls, although the girl's training was certainly more prolonged and severe."² It would seem, however, that tradition allowed a certain amount of flexibility in the custom. McClellan notes the experience of a yEnyedi girl "born in Juneau, although her parents lived around Teslin 'most of the time'". In her puberty seclusion "she had two servants to wait on her. Her father was not old-fashioned, and instead of spending the

¹ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory" (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 111.

² C. McClellan, "Avoidance between siblings of the same sex in Northwestern North America", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 17, No. 2, Summer 1961, p. 111.

usual two years in seclusion, she was brought out in three months' time and 'put over the roof' at a potlatch. On this occasion she successfully danced by herself while the calico in which she was swathed was cut off of her and given away to the spectators. Her father's sisters watched to see that she did not miss a step and thus doom her whole clan to destruction."³

From this account we may infer that part of the training given during the period of seclusion was concerned with clan traditions. Dances had to be learned, and no doubt songs too, as well as the origin and meaning of crests, and, generally, what was expected of one in life as a member of the clan. All the intricacies of what might be called the clan's 'ethic of respect' would doubtless be explained, for, in a hierarchically-ordered society, knowing one's place and the traditions of reciprocal respect behaviour, both in daily life and at ceremonial functions, would be very important knowledge to have. One's 'place' or rank was not simply inherited but depended on one's living up to the clan traditions. For example, it was expected that an yEnyedi woman would be recognizable by her general bearing, and should she lose her temper, she might also lose her ranking.⁴

Boys, after puberty, "apparently joined an age group of young men who had their own shelters in the camp. It was

³ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory", (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 111.

⁴ Ibid., p. 110.

also expected that a youth would soon set off on travels around the countryside to gain new experiences, and ultimately marry a wife from some group other than his own."⁵ Before marrying, a boy would do bride-service by hunting with his prospective bride's family for up to two years. After marriage, the boy would continue to "look out for" his wife's parents, "giving them meat and furs and usually travelling with them until their deaths. He then usually took his bride to live with his own close kin."⁶

Avoidance Behaviour

The onset of puberty initiated avoidance behaviour between sisters and brothers and between brothers themselves. "The Teslin explanation of cross-sex sibling avoidance is an idea common to many groups - that the girl is a potential danger to her brothers after she had reached puberty. This is partly because any menstruating female could by her close association or glance ruin the hunting luck of any male. But it is further explained that if a brother and sister were allowed to talk to each other, and the sister should angrily wish that some harm would befall her brother, it would surely happen. 'Whatever she says will come true.' In mythology, the consequences of breaking the brother-sister

⁵ C. McClellan, "Avoidance between siblings of the same sex in Northwestern North America", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 17, No. 2, Summer 1961, p. 111.

⁶ Ibid., p. 113.

taboo were often fatal, especially if the girl were undergoing her puberty confinement. Then a mere exchange of glances might turn both siblings to stone."⁷ According to McClellan, cross-sex sibling avoidance among the Teslin Tlingit has "certainly always been strong."⁸

But brothers, too, avoided each other after puberty. They were supposed to be 'shy' of each other. They were not supposed to look each other directly in the face nor speak freely to one another, "although minimal verbal exchange was allowed if there was no third person through whom a message could be relayed."⁹

Both cross-sex and fraternal avoidance patterns have continued in Teslin up to the present. I became aware of fraternal avoidance a few years ago while walking down a street in Whitehorse with a teen-age boy from Teslin. A group of Indian youths approached us on the opposite side of the street. My companion saw and was seen by the other group. No word was spoken, but when we had passed, my companion informed me that one of the other group was his older brother whom he had not seen for a year. Rather amazed at the lack of greeting I asked, "Are you feuding?" "No", he said, and it turned out he thought highly of his older brother.

⁷ Ibid., p. 112.

⁸ Ibid., p. 111.

⁹ Ibid.

He was not, however, forthcoming with an explanation for the absence of greeting, and I did not press the matter.

There is probably no simple explanation for this rather rare type of behaviour.¹⁰ Fraternal avoidance is possibly an extension of cross-sex avoidance, with a whole complex of psychological and sociological factors operating within a small, isolated, marginal group.¹¹

Regulation of sex, desire to show respect, various uncertainties and embarrassments about social status, especially following marriage, have all been suggested as the real sources of avoidance.¹² But the full explanation of both cross-sex and fraternal avoidance amongst the Teslin Indians awaits further fieldwork and better analysis.¹³

During the 19th century the Inland Tlingit followed other avoidance patterns besides sibling avoidance. A woman avoided her mother's brother and a man avoided his father-in-law. Co-husbands and co-wives also avoided each other.¹⁴ Again, the full reasons for these patterns in the particular social matrix of 19th century Teslin society are not available, although it can perhaps be said that they were all connected with the problem of easing certain tensions which the combined sociological, technological, and ecological conditions produced.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 103.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 118-119.

¹² Ibid., p. 119.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 111.

III AVOIDANCE BEHAVIOUR AND THE MISSION SCHOOL

One of the first difficulties experienced by the missionary teachers was the problem of overcoming sibling avoidance patterns so that children would "mix" reasonably freely and without tension in the classroom. It seems, from the fragments of evidence given by informants, that the initial welcome given to the first missionary was strong enough to overcome the natural reluctance of parents to allow their children, girls and boys together, to attend school. Perhaps it was at first thought that school would be like church, with no visible interaction between the members of the congregation. But when, apparently, it became evident that school meant not only teacher-pupil interaction, but also pupil-pupil interaction, the village "authorities" stopped their children from attending the school. Again the fragments of evidence suggest that the young missionary teacher was for a time at a loss to know what to make of the sudden turn of events. In time, however,¹⁵ the difficulty was overcome, and the children returned, possibly to a more formal classroom arrangement and procedures calculated to minimize the cultural tensions arising from ingrained patterns of behaviour between brothers and sisters, and brothers and brothers.

¹⁵ It is difficult to say how long this took because no clear evidence is available. Several weeks might be a reasonable guess.

In view of the strength of these avoidance patterns, this incident points up the readiness with which the Teslin people accepted the "directed" influence of these first missionaries. It is perhaps a measure of the early respect they had for a technologically superior culture, although it may well have been a measure of the respect they had for Christianity as it had been presented to them, either in Juneau (to a few of them) or by briefly visiting "missionaries" around Teslin Lake.

IV THE MISSION SCHOOL

In 1910, the Teslin Mission School was the latest such school to be established in the Yukon. Mission schools had been started in the Yukon shortly after Bishop Bompas began his work as Bishop of the Diocese of Selkirk in 1891.¹⁶ Mission schools soon were in operation at Forty Mile, Rampart House, Moosehide and Selkirk.¹⁷ Some of these mission schools were, at times, year-round schools with a full time schoolmaster in charge, as at Forty Mile, which became the diocesan residential school until the school at Carcross was established in 1903. The others, however, were day schools which closed when families moved off on hunting or trapping expeditions. They followed loose timetables,

¹⁶ The name of the diocese was later changed to Yukon.

¹⁷ Michael Gibbs, "Carcross Residential School", Northern Lights, No. 40, Spring, 1967, p. 7.

providing religious instruction and the tools of education - reading, writing, and arithmetic.¹⁸

The mission school at Teslin was similar to these day schools established during the 1890's but with the difference that it operated only during the months of May, June, July and August and then not every year. Between 1910 and 1948 there were several years when no missionary student or priest came to Teslin, through lack of either funds or manpower in the Anglican Church. In the circumstances it seems remarkable that some students could reach a grade level of seven or eight, yet, according to Mr. Robert Ward, this is actually what some students did accomplish. Mr. Ward, of course, enjoyed the advantage over most of the other missionary teachers in having several consecutive summers in Teslin. The only other missionary teacher to have taught in Teslin for more than a couple of consecutive summers seems to have been Heber Wilkinson, later to become Bishop of Amritsar in India, who taught in Teslin from 1923 to 1926.

Because the mission school was so personal in nature, the comparative success or failure of a summer's work would depend very heavily on the personality, knowledge, adaptability, teaching skill, and initiative of the young teacher. Mr. Charles Taylor recalls how his mother would be in some fear and trembling each year to discover whether the new student would be mature enough, as she thought, for the role

¹⁸ Michael Gibbs, History of Chooutla School, ms., 1967, p. 5.

of missionary worker and representative of the larger white society. This suggests that some of these young theological students were not always as mature as might have been wished. However that may be, a number of Indians in Teslin in 1967 remembered with apparent affection certain of these young "theologs" who had taught them in summers long ago.

Some of the missionaries, at least, must have had a good deal of maturity, for the task they tackled was by no means an easy one. Most of them were in their second or third year in theology, and none had ever had either previous teaching experience or teacher training. Robert Ward's comments are interesting:¹⁹

"In all my time up there (in the Yukon) I never remember anyone who came up with a teaching certificate. The disadvantage we had in teaching people when we didn't have the methodology to do it was fantastic. We also were thrown on our own. When we got to the mission station we opened up the old boxes, and found writing paper exercise books, arithmetic books, reading books, spelling books, and what not. We had the little clay tablets and we would drop those into water and we would get ink. We had the blackboard. Of course, it wasn't very big . . ."

"By experience we found out which groups we would teach at what time, how long we could carry on a certain teaching method, how often we had to change our classes. This was all done by rule of thumb. We had no experience or no teaching as to what to do or how to do it. If we could play a musical instrument we were lucky . . ."

"Living conditions, of course, dictated that we cook our own food, clean our own house, catch our own fish, or go out and hunt our own meat. I never, myself, got out on a hunting

¹⁹ These comments are transcribed from a tape recording. The full transcription may be found in the Appendix.

expedition because I was so busy all week long. Monday through Friday I was teaching school, Saturday I was cleaning house and baking, and Sunday, of course, I was doing church work. So that, in a way, I was supplied with meat by the Indians for my services to them, but fishing - yes, I would help run the net to get a fish. I would borrow a boat if I wanted to take a small ride myself. Quite often on an afternoon some of the older Indian boys would want to go fishing and I would go along with them and we would explore the old graves which were on the rock sites on the far side of the lake. But normally, we were kept busy all the time. With a full day of teaching, naturally there was quite a bit of time taken up in preparation . . . , and because there were the many classes it really kept me scratching to figure out what I was going to do"

Although the timetabling was 'loose', there was a definite routine to each school day:

"Summer school at Teslin was really a time of great joy . . . It was always a high old time when the people came to town (from their various trapping grounds), and with the long sunlight in the summer time there was never any worry about the darkness coming down and spoiling the fun. The church bell was a great help because it woke people up in the morning and also, late at night, gave them an idea when they ought to go to bed. We rang the bell a good hour before school began; we rang it half an hour before school began, fifteen minutes, five minutes, and then we rang it like mad when it was time to start."

"We would always begin with a prayer, and a hymn, and then the various classes would come forward to do their work. I always used a buddy system. We had the various grades sort of set apart because of what they could do and we used (a system of) 'each one help one', really. While we had the books from the Department of Education as readers, we had, at times, to supply our own exercise books by going to the store and making shift with wrapping paper, cut and lined, and then tied together with string."

"I found that they enjoyed reading greatly; they also enjoyed arithmetic. Singing we had a lot of fun with, and because the roof was galvanized iron, when it began to rain very hard we always had to stop our schooling and we would sing . . ."

"Our boys and girls started as soon as they could come to school, around six or seven, and went up as far as fifteen or sixteen. We kept regular school hours, nine 'till twelve, one till three. Then in the afternoon we always had things to do, games to play. In the evening there was usually a pick-up game of base-ball, with the mounted policeman on one side and myself, as the mission man, on the other."

"At least once a week we would have the adult classes and of course we would be having church services in the evening, not every evening, but a lot of evenings during the summertime . . . Each year we were expected to present some sort of confirmation class to the Bishop, and so that meant a good deal of adult education."

"One of the problems of retention between summers was that so seldom the same missionary student went back the next year. I was fortunate that I had at least three years in Teslin so I could see them progress, and we didn't have to get acquainted each year. Standards reached were about 7th or 8th grade, I would say - not much more, because, while they were regular while they were in the village, they were only there from May till the end of August, and there's only a certain amount of work that can be done."

Thinking back over his teaching days in Teslin, at a distance of about twenty-five years, Mr. Ward has this to say:

"Thinking of what might have been done - we just did not have the money to do it. I did not go back in '35 because there was no money to send anybody up, and we were living a sort of hand to mouth existence. I think we fellows who went up there got \$250 plus our food and transportation. This was not much, of course, but at least it was all that could be given. I think that we didn't waste the meagre amount of money; that we did a great deal

for it. But had there been people, had there been money, had there been equipment - this might have made a great deal of difference. And had we been established enough to continue the work all year round - that might have made a great deal of difference. When things were seasonal the church gave them seasonal help, trying to fit in with their needs. It wasn't sufficient, but it was all we could do."

In terms of education and acculturation generally, there are, perhaps, several noteworthy features of these efforts. First of all, school was voluntary, notwithstanding the statutes relating to the compulsory education of all Canadian children. No truant officer routed out the lazy or the disaffected, yet attendance seemed to be remarkably good whenever the opportunity for schooling presented itself. Secondly, adults were involved in some kind of educative-acculturative process as well as their children, even if it were only for a few evenings a week. Thirdly, there was a co-operative, rather than a competitive, learning situation. And fourthly, the teacher-pupil relationship was highly personal.

The period of operation of the Mission School coincided almost exactly with the Trading-Post Mission Period of culture contact described in Chapter VI. During this period both Indian and white authority-figures were generally respected by the Indian people. The R.C.M.P. officer, isolated from headquarters for weeks at a time, seemed to be accepted in the community as a friend, playing baseball, giving advice

(such as to throw away the call-up notices), and maintaining the king's peace.²⁰ Clan traditions, although weakening, were still enforced to some extent by the "chiefs", especially when the old women chose to exercise their considerable, if unofficial, authority. McClellan notes how, as late as 1949, it might cost a clan as much as \$75 if a child scratched the face of a child belonging to another clan; and a woman who unseemingly lost her temper might still in 1949, lose her prestige "ranking."²³

With authority so generally respected, before the rapid erosion of the old standards during the most recent period of culture-contact, the mission school teacher enjoyed an advantage often missing in the Yukon today. The evidence seems to suggest that the Teslin people liked the Mission School form of education, a form which allowed their children to be with them all year round, making possible education in both cultures, Indian and white. It was a form of education which seemed to fit well with their needs at the time. If the mission school had had greater resources to draw upon - money, trained manpower, and equip-

²⁰ One Indian family in 1967, still had, proudly displayed on a wall, a coloured picture of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. "He was a good King," my host said.

²¹ C. McClellan, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory", (unpublished thesis, The University of California, 1950), p. 110.

ment, - possibly the system would have suited their needs even better.

In retrospect, however, with the wisdom of hindsight gained from a knowledge of the great changes which have occurred since the highway went through, the mission school education was inadequate to meet the future needs of the pupils. But in white culture itself, changes have been so swift in the past few decades that re-training and continuing education are now seen as necessary supplements, in adult life, to childhood education. The logic of this, however, has not yet been seriously applied to the needs of all Teslin Indians, for whom the rate of change has, literally, been staggering.



Plate No. 17. The Anglican Mission Church and School Building, constructed in 1909. (Present church building in background).



Plate No. 18. View of Teslin Lake and the "Three Aces" from the pathway in front of the Mission building shown above.

CHAPTER IX

RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

Contemporaneous with the work of the Teslin Mission School was the work of the Chooutla Indian Residential School, operated by the Anglican Church, to which the first Teslin student went in 1915.¹ This school is still in operation today, with Teslin children attending. Then, beginning in the mid-1940's, the Roman Catholic Church provided boarding education for some Teslin students, first at Grouard School in Alberta, and, from 1951 onwards, at the Lower Post Indian Residential School.

I THE CHOOUTLA INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL

In 1915, David Johnson, then aged 18, was urged by some white friends in Teslin to take the chance which was offered him by Bishop Isaac Stringer to attend the Chooutla Indian Residential School in Carcross, seventy-five miles by overland trail from Teslin. David was a member of one of the "B.C." families in Teslin who had been baptized in the Russian Orthodox Church in Juneau. He had subsequently lived in Juneau for three years, attending the Presbyterian Church there, after the Russian Church had discontinued its activities. It was at the Presbyterian

¹ Although both the Mission School and the Chooutla School were operated by the Anglican Church, attendance at Chooutla was dependent on selection by church officials. Potential for leadership was one of the criteria for selection.

Church, he says, that he "first learned the faith of Christianity".² Apparently recognizing in him some potential for learning and leadership, Bishop Stringer proposed his attendance at the residential school in Carcross where he would have the opportunity to become educated in a full-time, year-round school. David accepted the invitation, and over the next three years apparently made good progress, especially in learning to read and write, speak and understand, the English language. For years afterwards, in Teslin, he would often act as interpreter for missionaries, traders, and policemen, and today looks back with pride on a role which once brought him some prestige.

David Johnson was the first person from Teslin to attend the Chooutla Indian School. Over the years since then, perhaps a couple of dozen or more children from Teslin have attended the same school, alongside other Indian children from all over the Yukon.³ Most of these, however, have attended since the late 1930's. During the 1920's and 1930's the enrollment at the school was often considerably less than the maximum of 40 for which the school had been built in 1911. In 1931, for example, enrollment had declined to 26. By

² Personal interview; August 17th, 1967.

³ It is impossible to say exactly how many, as all attendance records of the school, previous to 1954, have been either lost, or burned in the fire of 1939. From 1954 to 1967, according to present school records, thirteen Teslin children attended the school for varying lengths of stay up to 9 or 10 years.

contrast, the enrollment increased soon after a new building was completed in 1954, reaching 160 in 1960. Enrollment thereafter declined to 80 in 1966.⁴

The history of Chooutla School reveals controversies, at various times, regarding its function, its goals, and its effectiveness. Unlike the summer mission school, the residential school at Carcross has come in for severe criticism from both Indians and whites, as well as from within and from without the church responsible for its operation. It has had its good years and its bad years; its years of overcrowding and its years of empty beds and desks. For years it suffered from inadequate financial support, and its staff was underpaid and overworked. For years, too, it suffered from a lack of clear direction based on a realistic appraisal of the Indian situation in the Yukon and the educational needs of Indian children.⁵ In an analysis of the school's operation during the school year, 1962-3, Richard King comes to some depressing conclusions concerning the adequacy of the school personnel and the effectiveness of the educational programme.⁶ George and Louise Spindler see his analysis as "a case study of how children learn the subculture of the school and how, in this process, the intended aims of education, as enunciated by teachers and school administrators,

⁴ Michael Gibbs, History of Chooutla School, ms., 1967, pp. 13-18.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 19-22.

⁶ A. Richard King, The School at Mopass: A Problem of Identity, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

are defeated."⁷

Yet for all the adverse criticism the school has had, it continues to have its supporters amongst Teslin Indians. David Johnson has remained, through the years, one of the most enthusiastic of these, crediting the school he attended half a century ago with teaching him good manners, in addition to the three R's, and with increasing his knowledge and understanding of the Christian faith. The support from Teslin Indians, however, except in one or two such cases, is not wholehearted, but rather the kind which a person gives to that which he chooses as the least objectionable from the choices open to him. Illustrative of this kind of support were the remarks of one Teslin mother in the summer of 1967 who recounted how one of her young sons had had an unhappy year in the local public school, and how, when she asked him if he wanted to go back to the residential school at Carcross, he had answered, with the deep poignancy of youthful sadness and resignation, "Yes, I would".

The truth of the matter is that it is impossible to give a blanket evaluation of the educational experiences of Teslin Indians at the Carcross School, for not only did the school itself change over the years, but so did the general contact

⁷ Ibid., p. vii.

situation in the Yukon. It is necessary, therefore, for our purpose in this thesis, to look at the history of Chooutla School in some detail.

In the year 1900, Bishop Bompas moved south to Carcross from Forty Mile where he had stationed himself as Bishop of Selkirk in 1891, and where, amongst other places, he had started a mission school. At the time he came to Carcross the Tagish Indians, under the leadership of Skookum Jim, were in the process of moving from their settlement at Tagish to Carcross which had been until then only a temporary camping place during their seasonal travels.⁸ The Bishop was nearing the end of his long and arduous career in the north, and it was not until three years later, in 1903, that he took steps to establish a school in the new community growing around the White Pass and Yukon Railway station and on both sides of the nearby railway bridge. He bought a building from Mr. R.R. Peele, the customs officer, and sent for a Miss Ellis, matron of the diocesan residential school at Forty Mile, (now to become defunct), to come with about ten of her students (all girls) to start a new school in Carcross. Shortly after this, Bishop Bompas exchanged the Peele building for the North West Mounted Police detachment house on the other side of the river nearer to the mission house. Here, until his death

⁸ I am indebted to Mr. Michael Gibbs, present Principal of Chooutla School, for much of the material on which this section of the Chapter is based. The Very Rev. H.H. Marsh, Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Yukon from 1961-67, kindly allowed me to keep a copy of the typescript of Mr. Gibbs' History of Chooutla School.

three years later, he ran a family-type school which was more like a foster home than an ordinary school. The only regular students were the girls from Forty Mile, but some Tagish boys and girls attended irregularly when their families were not away on seasonal trips. For three weeks in 1904, one of the day students was Vivian Peele, daughter of the Customs Officer. She records her memory of the school:

"In 1904 I returned to Carcross to spend three weeks as the guest of Bishop and Mrs. Bompas and at the school with Miss Ellis. By this time the Bishop had traded the school for a log house across the river close to the church. I remember very well walking down the road each morning to the school with the Bishop wearing his moccasins and a school bag over his shoulder. There were about twelve girls at the school and I sat with them around the dining table with the Bishop at one end as our teacher, and, although not of school age, I learned a little of the three R's. After putting a few sums on the blackboard for the older girls, the Bishop would fold his hands and drop his head for a short nap. This always started the girls laughing and giggling, all of them too young to know that he was tired and worn after spending the better part of his life ministering to their people"⁹

When Bishop Bompas died in 1906 his work at the mission was taken over by the Rev. John Hawksley who acted under the

⁹ Michael Gibbs, History of Chooutla School, ms., p. 4.

authority of the new bishop, Isaac O. Stringer. At the first Synod of the diocese, in 1907, a resolution was passed calling on the Dominion Government to appoint an Indian Superintendent for the Yukon, and recommending that an industrial-type school be built at Carcross in accordance with a theory then accepted by both Church and State for Indian education throughout the country. This theory, emphasizing trade-trading rather than pure academics, and character development in a residential setting, had already been put in practice in a number of schools from East to West. The Government would build such a school where one was felt to be needed, and materially assist with supplies and a per capita grant, and the Church would operate it.

By 1908, the Dominion Government had agreed to establish such a school in the Yukon. By 1911 it had been built, at a cost of about \$16,000, on a 160 acre site two miles from Carcross. It was designed to accommodate up to 40 students, and the site had been chosen on land farmed by a Mr. Shermer so that the school's planned agricultural operations would not have to start entirely from scratch. Mr. E. Dyfed Evans was appointed the first principal, and the school was named Chooutla Indian School. Mr. Gibbs, in his history of the school, notes how one student still living, who experienced both the old and the new schools, preferred the old:

"The Industrial School was more an institution, less personal; the white man's ways were being instilled rather than assimilated as in a home; funds were limited and the school cannot have been very glamorous; it was largely isolated, even from the life of Carcross."¹⁰

After two years, Mr. Evans left and Mrs. and Mrs. C.F. Johnson arrived to be, respectively, manager and housekeeper. The Rev. W. T. Townsend came as principal soon afterwards. Mr. Johnson, apparently, was an efficient and popular manager, running the farm well and buying game from the local Indian people to supplement the students' diet. Mr. Townsend stayed as principal for four years and seems to have been a very active man. It is recorded that he spent a short holiday in 1916 hunting moose with Fred Boss, one of the pupils (now living in Skagway). Together they "secured" four moose to supplement the school's food supply. Mr. Gibbs comments laconically: "His successors were less active and their students did not eat so well."

It was during Mr. Townsend's term as principal that David Johnson came from Teslin at age 18 for his first experience of school. He came, apparently, at a relatively good time in the school's history, for Mr. Townsend was seriously concerned with his work. In his report to the Third Synod of the Diocese, in July, 1915, he states that the day has

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

passed when "it is necessary to prove that education is an advantage for all classes and for both sexes. The various governments in civilized countries are more and more coming to realize that they owe to every child, in their several domains, a certain amount of free education. We would naturally think that to no class do we owe a deeper debt in this line than to the aborigines of our country; yet in reality, up to a short time ago the Canadian Government did little in providing for the education of Indians. The burden was borne, as far as it was borne at all, by the various churches."¹¹ He then goes on to ask whether the government, now recognizing its responsibilities, should undertake the task of Indian education alone - without the churches. He answers his own question in the negative, holding to the fairly common view of his era that moral education could not be handled as well in a secular as in a religious setting. His own stated aim as principal of the Choooutla School was then given as follows: "to train in every boy and girl enough self-respect, not to despise that from which they come, but to aspire to something for themselves; and the knowledge and love of God sufficient to keep them in the straight path. Coupled with this we aim to give them an ordinary education, and a training in some branch of work (so far as our limited means allow) to help them make their living."¹²

Later in the Synod, Mr. Townsend's report moved Bishop

¹¹ Ibid., p. 9.

¹² Ibid., p. 10.

Stringer to comment that Indian education was a matter about which opinions were quite varied. There followed a discussion, apparently rather inconclusive, about educational aims for Indian schools: How can the problems day schools have with nomadic peoples be overcome? Should agriculture be taught to Yukon Indians? Should the church be upset if the Indian student is not satisfied to return to the life of his parents? Regarding this last question, Bishop Stringer said, "The same thing applies to the Indian pupil as applies to the university student or graduate of Eastern Canada who is dissatisfied with farm life. But is it, for that reason, bad?"¹³ It should be added that Bishop Stringer had earlier said that he thought the training given Indian children should "suit" them to return to their own people.

The questions asked at this Synod showed a lively concern for the problems of Indian education, stimulated perhaps by the Bishop's opening remarks in which he stated that "Half our work, and more than half our responsibility is among the Indians."¹⁴ One of the wider problems of the day was the growing scourge of tuberculosis. Between 1900 and 1931, of 41 Indian deaths in Carcross village, 17 were ascribed to T.B., and 4 to the influenza epidemic of 1920. In 1915 the total number of Indians resident in the Yukon was

¹³ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁴ Ibid.

1528: by 1929 it had been reduced to 1264, " a reduction largely due to tuberculosis."¹⁵ Teslin, perhaps by reason of its relative isolation, apparently escaped this scourge, but deaths among children at Chooutla School seem to have been one of the causes of growing criticism of the school by Indian parents and ex-pupils. Between 1903 and 1915, nine children between the ages of six and 16 were buried in Carcross, of whom three were members of the school. From 1915 to 1931 seven children of school age were buried, four of whom were students at Chooutla and two ex-students.¹⁶ Some Indians felt that the industrial school was the cause of their children's death. Mr Gibbs comments: "Partly this was because they did not understand the nature of the disease . . . that a child might take it with him into the school. In part, however, it seems possible that at times the diet may have been somewhat inadequate."¹⁷ This possibility is borne out by the comment of a student who had been a student at Chooutla in the mid - 1920's. "They starved us up there. We got one egg a year - at Easter. The rest of the time we got dogfood mush (corn meal) and skim milk. Them in the staff dining room, though, they got bacon and eggs every day. We never saw fruit from one Christmas to the next, but they sure had it. Why some of those kids just starved to death. One year there was six of 'em died right there at the school . . . starved

¹⁵ Ibid., p.11.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

to death!"¹⁸

In view of the statistics of actual deaths and their causes from tuberculosis, the exaggeration of the above statement is evident, but it nevertheless is illustrative of the sinking reputation of the school amongst the Indians. Enrollment consequently slumped to the low 30's during most of the period from 1920 to 1935, and perhaps it was because of the school's lowered reputation that so few Teslin children attended until the 1950's. In Mr. Ward's time at Teslin, for example, the children of only two Teslin families attended the school.¹⁹

Some of the difficulties of the school during this period may be attributed to an excessive staff turnover rate and to inadequate financing. For example, there were 9 different principals of the school from 1915-30, and the yearly operating deficit, in spite of the Government's per capita grant and assistance to buy school books and maintenance supplies, was never less than \$2500. This deficit was made up for by the Missionary Society of the Church of Canada, which had assumed financial responsibility for the school in 1921. Money for clothing and travelling expenses of the children was also given by the M.S.C.C.

In 1927, an edition of the diocesan magazine, Northern Lights, had an article on the Choooutla School. It noted that the object of the school was "to provide leaders in

¹⁸ A. Richard King, The School at Mopass, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967), p.37.

¹⁹ Robert Ward, personal communication, March, 1968.

the Indian camps."²⁰ It was one of the Bishop's jobs to choose suitable children on his travels through the Yukon to go to the school. His aim was "to get the best both in health and intellect."²¹ At the school, half the day was spent in the classroom and the other half was spent learning housekeeping and sewing for the girls and gardening, blacksmith, and rough carpentry work for the boys.

In view of the seasonal life of the Teslin people, stabilized since 1904 by their permanent summer camp near the trading post, it is hardly surprising that such a curriculum, in addition to the school's controversial reputation, would not appeal to many Teslin parents. Because the Government would not pay for the children's transportation home in summer, and the Church could often not afford to pay, children who went to Carcross might be away for years at a stretch, returning, eventually, able to read and write and do simple arithmetic but unable to be of use in the essential subsistence activities of their families, and ignorant of many of the social customs which still bound their community together. Besides, during most summers there was summer school at the mission, and the learning which it was possible to acquire there would seem to many parents quite adequate for their children's needs in the foreseeable future. The few who thought otherwise were in a decided minority until after the highway was built.

²⁰ Michael Gibbs, History of Chooutla School, ms., p.12.

²¹ Ibid.

As far as any success was achieved by the school in providing leaders during this early period, Mr. Gibbs notes a "fair degree" of such success. In 1916 a James Wood left to become a teacher at the Moosehide Day School; Johnny Johns became one of the foremost big game outfitters in the world; Peter Johns became a competent printer; Maggie Daniels taught at Rampart House; and so on. In 1928 there were two students at Chooutla in Grade VIII, "no mean achievement on a half-day classroom schedule".²²

By 1936, the fortunes of the school had revived somewhat, and the school was filled to its capacity of 40, with entrance applications being turned down, and the staff augmented by two, from the usual six, to eight. The Rev. H.C.M. Grant who had become principal in 1930, and who was to provide the school with an unbroken administration until 1948, reported in 1936 that there was a growing body of opinion questioning the half-day system. He defended that system, however, on the grounds that the children required fresh air for their health and that their vocational training might be more important than their training in the classroom. He suggested that the work of the school did not go far enough, and that when the child left school, a reaction set in.²³ The resolution which Mr. Grant put forward at the Synod meeting in 1936 calling for the "after-care of pupils of Indian Residential Schools" strongly suggests that the Chooutla School experience at

²² Ibid., pp. 13 - 14.

²³ Ibid., p. 15.

that time was not ideally suited to the needs of children returning home to a culture-contact situation more complex and troublesome than possibly any educational theorists of the time understood.

In 1939 a fire burned the school building to the ground. For the next three years Mr. Grant, with generous assistance from the people of Carcross, was able to maintain the school in eight buildings rented from Mr. Matthew Watson in Carcross. In 1942 the Church bought some temporary buildings for \$24,000, with dormitory accommodation for 45.

In 1946 a Joint Parliamentary Committee was formed in Ottawa to inquire into the administration of Indian affairs. Opposition to residential schools was forthcoming from many Indians giving evidence, and it became Government policy to try to enrol as many Indian students as possible in provincial day schools. The Government's first steps were, however, to improve existing facilities. In 1948, a decision was taken to build a new residential school at Carcross and to discontinue the old industrial school system. It was not until 1954, however, that the new school was completed, on the site of the school building burned down in 1939. The contract was for \$589,000, the student capacity of the building being 120.

With the building of the new school, a completely new system of joint responsibility for its operation, by Church and State, came into effect. Teachers at the school ceased to be Church employees and became Federal employees, with

the Church having the privilege of making nominations. Salaries increased considerably from the \$90 per month plus room and board paid to Church teachers in 1953, and as a consequence fully qualified teachers became easier to obtain. The per capita grant system ended, being superseded by a system of budgeting allowances under headings of expenditure.

The Church retained complete control over the residential side of the school's operation, appointing the principal and his supervisory staff. Although the Church has had the privilege of nominating the teaching staff, it has not been able, according to the analysis of Richard King in 1962-3, to keep unity between the classroom and the residential sides of the total school experience of the children.

The 1950's saw again a succession of principals. Funds were still tight and salaries low in spite of the increasing monies made available by the Government. By 1960 the school was filled to 133% of designed-capacity, with 160 students in residence.

In 1960, new hostels were opened, by the Indian Affairs Branch, in Whitehorse, for Indian students in Grades V and up, who would attend public schools in that city in accordance with the policy of integrated education already approved. One of these large hostels was for 'Protestant' students, the other for Roman Catholic students. (See Plate No.).

The setting up of the Protestant Hostel (later to be called the Yukon Hall) represented a new departure in policy for the Indian Affairs Branch, for it was decided to operate

the new institution with a staff having civil service status. The decision to dispense with Church management was taken after a protracted controversy between the Anglican Church and the local Baptist society in Whitehorse as to whom responsibility was to be assigned for the new hostel's operation. The claims of the Anglican Church, based on nearly a hundred years of missionary and educational activity in the Yukon and the resulting large numbers of at least nominally Anglican Indians,²⁴ were met by the claims of the Baptist society which were based mainly on a successful residential school operation in Whitehorse begun shortly after the Second World War. At that time, dozens of Indian children of school age were roaming the streets of Whitehorse uncared for by a citizenry whose elected representatives had not yet enacted legislation permitting Indian children to attend public schools in the Yukon.²⁵

No satisfactory compromise could, apparently, be worked out between the Anglicans and the Baptists before the patience of the Government in Ottawa ran out. The result was the first

²⁴ See p. 45.

²⁵ During the war the population of Whitehorse had swelled to the thousands from its pre-war hundreds, and many Indian families had been attracted to the area by the hope of gain from the enormously increased economic activity. The size of the population explosion was further influenced by the hundreds of military personnel stationed in the area during the war.

civil-service-operated Indian hostel in the North.²⁶

Within two years of the opening of the hostels in Whitehorse, the enrollment at Chooutla School had been reduced to 116,²⁷ and overcrowding of facilities has subsequently not been a problem. By 1967 the enrollment was down to 80.²⁸ Very few of these children were in residence for lack of a school close to their homes; most were there because of the lack of a 'proper' home.²⁹

In assessing the work of Chooutla School over the years, Michael Gibbs concludes with this frank statement: "The most effective work was probably done by Bishop Bompas, the school of 1911-20 was good until the Church lost its sense of direction, and the school of 1954 was bad until it became a smaller institution."³⁰ To Mr. Gibbs, the history of the school points up the moral that the Church is best in the field of social service and education when

²⁶ The full story of the controversy, and the subsequent working out of the decision to set up the Protestant Hostel, must await a later study. It is interesting to note, however, that the assumption by the Government of Canada of a vastly greater degree of responsibility for the education of Yukon Indians coincided with the growth of sectarian activity in the Yukon. (In 1945 there were only the Anglican and the Roman Catholic churches in Whitehorse: in 1967 there were about a dozen separate denominations. The ecumenical movement of the 1960's has softened the divisions somewhat, but diversity is still more clearly in evidence than the unity which ecumenism idealizes.)

²⁷ A. Richard King, The School at Mopass: A Problem of Identity, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967), p.39.

²⁸ Michael Gibbs, History of Chooutla School, ms., p.18.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., p.23.

it avoids highly institutionalized or organized projects. He is supported in this view by Dr. Hilda Hellaby, who has spent half a lifetime in down-to-earth humanitarian service to the Indians of the Yukon. Dr. Hellaby notes "that as schools became larger and more institutional in character, the educational standard improved but the overall result in life and character did not keep pace, better results having been obtained from the small homelike groups of earlier days; and this is true of all fields of social work".³¹

According to present school records and residents of Teslin, more Teslin children attended Choooutla School after 1954 than before. They attended, therefore the school described by Mr. Gibbs as "bad until it became a smaller institution." It was also the school, getting smaller, but not yet small, studied by Richard King in 1962-3, in which children learned a "pragmatic gamesmanship" in developing the ability to cope "with an adult-made social and semantic environment"; the school in which the student subculture effectively subverted the intended aims of the school's teachers and administrators; the school in which "Whiteman" and Indian stereotypes were reinforced, thus helping to frustrate "the attempts of an indigenous minority group to move into full participation in Whiteman society."³²

"Long before the end of experiences at the residential

³¹ H. Hellaby, (ed.), History of the Anglican Diocese of Yukon, ms. 1967, p.8.

³² George and Louise Spindler in Foreword to A Richard King, The School at Mopass: A Problem of Identity, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p.vii

school", says Richard King, "the fundamental barriers between Whiteman and Indian are firmly developed, not so much by a conscious rejection on the part of the Whiteman as by a conscious rejection on the part of the Indian child. The sterile shallowness of the adult model presented by the school Whitemen serves only to enhance - and probably to romanticise - memories of attachments in the child's primary family group, and to affirm a conviction prevalent among the present adult Indian generation that Indians must strive to maintain an identity separate from whiteman."³³

While there may be truth in Mr. King's assertion, and in the conclusions drawn by George and Louise Spindler, supporting evidence for the assertion and the conclusions is hard to find in Teslin. Critical comments of the Carcross school have certainly been expressed by those who have attended, and by their parents who have not attended, but the criticisms are muted by the consideration of alternatives, including the local public day school, and the hostels and public schools in Whitehorse. The "sterile shallowness of the adult model presented by the school Whitemen" does not seem to have affirmed a conviction in Teslin "that Indians must strive to maintain an identity separate from whitemen", for the number and popularity of Indian-white marriages has been growing among former students of Chooutla School. As a generalization it is probably true to say that the attitude of Teslin Indians who have a personal interest in Chooutla School is ambivalent: they

see both good and bad in it; and as only a few, for welfare reasons, are forced by the Indian Affairs Branch to send their children to the school, the fact that some still choose to do so suggests that the good they see in it, or hope for, is not less than the bad they have heard about, or may fear.

II THE GROUARD AND LOWER POST INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

Driving south one day from Dawson City in June 1966, I stopped to pick up a hitch-hiker near the village of Pelly. He was an Indian who, being out of work at the time, had been conscripted to fight a forest fire in the region and was now released from duty by reason of a heavy downpour the night before. His English was fluent and his conversation both uninhibited and illuminating - unusual in Yukon Indians. He spoke knowledgeably about farming in Alberta; he severely criticized the Indian girls of the day, especially those in their late teens and early twenties, for their lack of interest in worthwhile education; he commented philosophically about his life as an itinerant labourer along the dusty or velvet-white roads of his native Yukon. His name was Paul Fox, a Teslin Indian who had left home at the age of seven to spend the next eight years in Grouard, Alberta, at the residential school run by the Roman Catholic Church.

During the whole of his time at school he never once returned home. This experience of total cultural immersion

he shared with another Teslin boy, Isaac Johnston, son of Freddie Johnston who had himself gained the rudiments of the three R's at the Anglican Mission School in Teslin. Freddie recounted in Teslin a year later how Isaac, home at long last from school, not only did not know how to catch beaver but was even quaking with fear when a small party he went with shot a grizzly! Neither Isaac nor Paul stayed long in Teslin after their return, both of them seeking, and successfully finding, wage-work of varying duration in sawmills, mines, road work, and other enterprises of white man's society. The greater degree of acculturation which their schooling had given them fitted them better than many of their fellows for earning a living in white-dominated Yukon society, although it ill-fitted them for a return to the traditional occupations of their qwan.

Was this a gain or a loss? They lost their belongingness to a community with roots in the past, with traditions and customs which once integrated a common life, but which now were losing their effectiveness. They gained a certain competency to cope with the wage economy of the white man, but only in a marginal way as labourers at the bottom end of the socio-economic scale, whose survival depended amongst other things on a new kind of individual nomadism.

The attempt to answer such a question reveals something of the dilemma faced by those who have attempted to provide for the education of Yukon Indians, as well as by

those Indians who have had a measure of choice in educational matters open to them. The variety of choices actually made provides something of an answer to those critics of past attempts in Indian education who gratuitously and tardily offer to responsible bodies their simplistic solutions.

The Roman Catholic Church's interest in the education of Teslin Indians was first evidenced according to the late Bishop J.L. Coudert, by the visit to Teslin made by Father Joseph Allard, O.M.I., in July, 1908.³⁸ Fr. Allard had the previous year opened a boarding school for the Indian children in Atlin, and he came to Teslin to bring some of the children there to his new school. He returned to Teslin in 1909, ostensibly for the same purpose, but how many children he took back to school in Atlin Bishop Coudert does not say. In any case, Fr. Allard was transferred to Dawson in 1910 and his brief educational venture in Atlin ended.³⁹

Forty-four years followed this first attempt of the Roman Catholic Church to establish a boarding school in the Yukon before a second school was built and in operation. This second school was, at one time, to have been built at Fox Point, three miles from Teslin, but because of political and financial problems it was eventually built just inside the B.C. border at Lower Post, about 200 miles south-east

³⁸ Speech given by Bishop Coudert at the official opening of the Lower Post Indian Residential School in 1952.

³⁹ Ibid.

of Teslin, down the Alaska Highway.

Since its opening in September, 1951,⁴⁰ about 60 Teslin children from about 15 families have attended the school. Quite a number of these stayed for only a year or two before being transferred to other schools; a few stayed for seven or eight years. Others transferred to the school from schools such as Grouard and the Teslin Public School.⁴¹ Before 1960 classes were from Grades I to VIII; after 1960 from Grades I to VI, the change being made because of the opening of the hostels in Whitehorse referred to in the previous section of this chapter. In 1960 the enrollment reached a maximum of 185, the designed-capacity of the buildings then being 140. In the year the school opened, 100 children attended whereas in the last few years the attendance has fluctuated between 120 and 130.

In the years since its opening the experience of Lower Post School has been similar in many ways to that of Chooutla School since 1954. One of the major differences between the two schools, apart from their church affiliations, is that at Lower Post the residential side of the school is looked after by members of two religious orders, the Missionary Oblates and the Sisters of St. Ann. Perhaps because of

⁴⁰ The official opening, at which Bishop Coudert spoke, was not held until early 1952.

⁴¹ From Lower Post School records, kindly shown to me by the Principal, Fr. Morisset, O.M.I., when I visited the school in early September, 1967.

this fact it has been easier at Lower Post to control the staff turnover rate, ensuring a smoother continuity of administration than at Carcross.

The school draws its students from a wide area of the Yukon and northern British Columbia. In recent years serious attempts have been made to preserve some aspects of the cultural heritage of different tribes, principally through dances and songs and mimes. The school has apparently enjoyed good official relations with the Lower Post-Watson Lake community since its inception, although the area is notorious for the disintegrative nature of its native social life.⁴² A good example of the outside community's support of the school is the Christmas airlift of presents organized each year by the Lions Club of Prince George, B.C.

In the absence of any history of the school or analysis of its operation in a 'typical' year, such as I was able to procure for Chooutla School, I am unable to comment at any length on the experiences of Teslin children in their years of residence at Lower Post. Many of the factors operating at the Carcross school would undoubtedly be operating in Lower Post as well. Chief among these would be the institutional, residential, and racially-segregated nature of the school experience, controlled by 'Whitemen'.

⁴² J. Honigmann, Social Disintegration in Five Northern Canadian Communities, Canadian Revue of Sociology and Anthropology, 1964.

Yet the white men, being in religious orders, distinct from the rest of white society, would not be quite the same as their counterparts at Carcross. The adult model presented by the school would not be a model of white society but a model of a small society within the larger white society, and clearly not identical with it.

The facts of residence and racial segregation, however, would produce effects regardless of the nature of the supervisory authority. Fr. Studer, until September, 1967, Director of all Roman Catholic education in the Yukon, and Fr. Morissett, O.M.I., Principal of the Lower Post School, both feel that, at present, the residential, segregated school is "a necessary evil".⁴³ Fr. Studer says, "We're still looking for results" (meaning real signs of success), and thinks that local day schools, with children living at home, are much to be preferred to boarding schools for Indian children. He sees merit in the idea of segregated kindergardens for Indian children, however, so that they can be "brought level" to start in Grade I alongside their white classmates who, generally speaking, have enormous cultural advantages at home influencing their progress in school. But with many Indian families still widely scattered away from day schools, and others wishing to trap and hunt for weeks at a stretch

⁴³ Interview with Fr. Studer in Teslin, August 18, 1967.

away from home and the day schools which may be close by, residential schools for Indians of the North would still seem to be necessary for some years to come.

In his speech at the opening of the Lower Post Residential School, Bishop Coudert gave an interesting account of the long years of negotiation between his Church and the Federal Government before the school became a reality. The account reveals something of the nature of the relationship between Church and State, during the first half of this century, with respect to Indian education.⁴⁴

⁴⁴According to those who knew him personally, Bishop Coudert was meticulous in his accurate presentation of facts, particularly those relating to correspondence. Because of his reputation in this respect, as well as for the intrinsic interest of the negotiations, I am encouraged, without having seen any of the actual correspondence, to present the central part of his account verbatim. The typed copy of the speech which I have used was kindly sent to me by Fr. Morisset, Principal of the Lower Post School. In his covering letter he says: "One of our staff, not a professional typist, has volunteered to make a copy which I am sending to you; any mistakes in it should be attributed to the typist."

"During the summer of 1925, Father Elphege Allard visited the whole Cassiar, travelling through Dease Lake and the Dease River as far as McDame Creek and Lower Post.⁴⁵ Returning home from that long expedition, he wrote a letter to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Ottawa, on August 22, 1925, asking for an Indian boarding school somewhere in the Cassiar; he returned to Lower Post in 1926 and later built a promising day school at McDame Creek,

One April 19, 1930, he wrote to the Hon. Charles Stewart, Minister of the Interior, pointing out the necessity of a boarding school for the education of the children of those nomadic tribes of the Cassiar.

Again on August 30, 1932, he sent an urgent request to C.C. Perry, the Assistant Commissioner for the Indians in B.C.. At the end of the same year he received from the Mother General of the Sisters of Saint Ann, the assurance that he would get the necessary sisters for his proposed boarding school if the Federal Government would co-operate in the under-taking.

More correspondence was exchanged between Father El. Allard and the officials of the Indian Department concerning the projected boarding school for the adequate training of the Indian children of northern B.C. and the Yukon, until this zealous missionary was most unexpectedly drowned in the rapids of the Dease River, when on line of duty in July, 1935, a few miles above McDame Creek.

In June, 1936, I left the McKenzie, and after being consecrated Bishop in St. Albert on the grave of the saintly Bishop Grandin, the first Catholic Bishop of the Far North, I came as coadjutor to Bishop Buno, the Vicar Apostolic of the Yukon and Prince Rupert. I immediately set about visiting northern B.C. and the Yukon and realized at once the urgent need of a boarding school somewhere near the frontier of British Columbia and the Yukon for the educational welfare of our Catholic Indian children.

On May 24, 1939, after three years of incessant travelling realizing more than ever the necessity of a boarding school for the Catholic Indians of our missionary diocese, I wrote to Rev. O. Plourde, the General Superintendent of our Oblate Commission for Indian Welfare in Ottawa, and asked him to take up without any further delay with the officials of the Indian Department the question of a boarding school either in Teslin or

⁴⁵ Fr. El. Allard was a younger brother of the former missionary at Atlin.

somewhere along the border of B.C. and the Yukon. Some correspondence was exchanged with the Department regarding this matter in July and October of that year.

On Feb. 10, 1940, Father Plourde sent to Dr. Harold McGill, the Director of the Indian Department, the figures I had submitted to him, the number of Indians of northern B.C. and the Yukon whom the proposed school would serve.

On Sep. 30, 1940, I insisted again, begging Father Plourde to urge the Department to take some action.

In March, 1941, Agent Harper Reid of the Stikine Agency suggests to the officials to consider Tagish Lake as a favourable site for the needed boarding school. Superintendent of Welfare and Training, R.A. Hoey, replies that during the duration of the war, it is unlikely that the proposition will be seriously considered.

In April, 1943, owing to the plight of the northern Indians, I write again to Father Plourde, asking him to insist before the officials of the Indian Branch that something be done in regard to the education and health of the Indians located along the Alaska Highway, pointing out that their condition is an occasion of very unpleasant comment on the part of the many American workers and officials working in the region.

On June 22, 1945, I send a lengthy report to Mr. R.A. Hoey, who is by now the acting Director of the Indian Affairs Branch; I quote the figures of 905 Catholic Indians of our Apostolic Vicariate or Missionary Diocese of Whitehorse who would be served by a boarding school located in Teslin or near the border of B.C. and the Yukon. I am asked to wait a while yet, though the Director shows an evident sympathy to the cause.

On October 26, Father Plourde, at my request, presents new arguments in favour of the school. So on Nov. 8th, we are given the assurance that Director Hoey will shortly submit the matter to the Hon. Glen's attention for his consideration.

On Nov. 23, 1945, Father Plourde advises me that the Minister in charge of Indian Affairs has expressed the following favourable opinion: "After giving the matter some thought, I came to the conclusion that a boarding school is the only school which will provide the necessary education for those Indians, and I cannot see why we should refuse it."

On Dec. 13 1945, Director Hoey promises to have a proper educational survey made of the proposed area.

Throughout 1946 a lengthy correspondence is exchanged between myself, Father Plourde, and the various officials of the Branch, especially Col. B. Neary, the new Superintendent of Education; different locations are being considered for the proposed school, viz. at Johnson's Crossing, Morley Bay, Tagish Lake, Lower Post, and the conclusion is that Fox Creek, close to the Teslin Airport, would be the most suitable site. Other items are being discussed, such as the possibility of getting

the electric power from the airport, the purchasing of some building material from abandoned camps along the Alaska Highway, the hauling of fuel from the Carmacks Coal Mines, the securing of an adequate water supply, etc.

In 1947, the Indian Branch is ready to give us the sum of \$20,000 to help us buy building material and start on our own temporary building for some 20 to 25 children. Superintendent Meek of the Yukon Agency reports to Ottawa some building material being available at various points, such as Johnson's Crossing etc. (Feb. 10, 1947). More correspondence is exchanged with Col. Neary; and on April 27, we are notified that Major Clark, Educational Survey Officer, is soon going to visit the location.

On May 28, 1947, after Major Clark's visit, I send my own detailed report regarding all the matters discussed with Major Clark and the proposed plans for a school able to accommodate some 50 children, though there are really some 150 Catholic children of school age in our Vicariate who should be served by the proposed school.

On June 25, 1947, following the return of Major Clark to Ottawa and his report to the higher officials of the Branch, after the complete educational survey he has made of the area, the Department is now convinced that a school should be built large enough to accommodate between 130 and 150 children.

As a consequence, in October 1947, Deputy Minister Keenleyside promises us "to do everything humanly possible to expedite the construction of the school."

Meanwhile the Sisters of Saint Ann give us the assurance that they will provide us with the necessary sisters for the proposed school.

In December, 1947, Deputy Minister Keenleyside notifies me that the plans are being prepared and should be completed by early spring."

Bishop Courdert goes on at some length outlining the various frustrating delays which occurred over the next two years before the contract was let to Dawson and Hall Construction Co. of Vancouver in February, 1950, to build the school at Lower Post. These delays were necessitated by alarming rises in the cost of construction which in turn

necessitated several revisions in the plans. When the school finally opened in the fall on 1951, only 100 boarders could be accommodated instead of the 130 originally planned for. One of the results of this was that some 20 children at Grouard could not be transferred to the new school closer to their homes in the Yukon.

Bishop Coudert concludes his account of the building of the Lower Post Indian Residential School as follows:-

"So our only disappointment on this great occasion (of the opening of the school) is that the capacity of the school, for financial reasons, had to be reduced from 130 to 100 boarders only; we are looking forward with some anxiety to next September opening, with the sad feeling that we shall be compelled to refuse admission to the school to a good many Indian children for lack of adequate accommodation."

Thus did 26 years pass from the time of Fr. Allard's first letter to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Ottawa to the opening of the Lower Post Indian Residential School. And when the school was opened, it was not big enough to meet the demands upon it. Such a record reveals something less than enthusiasm for the education of northern Indians by the Government of Canada, especially when it is remembered that no Indian child was permitted to attend a public school in the Yukon until 1948, even if he should be close enough to such a school in Dawson, Whitehorse, and a very few other centres of white population.

III. CONCLUSION.

Towards the end of his book, *The School at Mopass*,

referring to the learning environment of the residential school, Richard King has this to say: "An inevitable conclusion is that the organized purveyors of Christianity bear the brunt of responsibility for the non-functional adaption of Indians in today's Yukon society".⁴⁶ In view of the years of persistent nagging which were necessary for the Roman Catholic Church to shake an inadequate number of dollars from a reluctant Canadian public for a "necessary evil", such a conclusion would hardly seem inevitable. And in view of the fact that the particular school to which King was referring at no time, until after 1954, had more than 40 students out of a total Yukon Indian population of from 1200 to 1600, such a conclusion would seem impossible to justify. Those who agitated for some government action in education over the years might be tempted to ask if the "organized purveyors of Christianity" would have discharged their responsibilities better had they nagged the Government of Canada less. When King goes on to say that "the Christian churches have been the Whiteman's scapegoat - the buffer instruments with which he hoped to assuage his collective guilt and polish his tarnished conscience,"⁴⁷ we may be more inclined to agree with him, but such an admission does less than justice to those who have tried, with inadequate

⁴⁶ A. Richard King, The School at Mopass: A Problem of Identity, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967, p. 89.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

financial backing, to discharge their human responsibilities, as they see them, to their brother man.

Denominational residential schools for Indians have had, and still have, many adverse critics. Any fair and objective assessment, however, must take into account the contact conditions throughout the whole of the period in which these schools have operated. For one thing, as is pointed out in The Canadian Superintendent, 1965, however apt some of the criticisms may be, "the church-oriented schools were not shaped solely by religious hierarchies. Rather they embodied the opinions of most Canadians, particularly of the people in any way concerned with the education of Indians, except possibly the Indians themselves."⁴⁸ Throughout most of the Trading-Post Mission Period of culture contact in Teslin, the Chooutla School was the only school to which Teslin Indians could go for full, year-round, formal education. That the school failed to provide the ideal form of education for Indian children in those years will be readily admitted by Church officials, but they ask a fair question: "Who was providing the ideal form of education for Indians then?" It is easy to criticize, in retrospect, and especially from a comfortable distance; it was not so easy for some of the early teachers and supervisors who accepted poor

⁴⁸ The Canadian Superintendent, 1965, The Education of Indian Children in Canada, (The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1965,) pp. 21-2.

pay and the considerable burden of isolation from their own culture. No doubt there were incompetent and inadequate human beings acting as teachers and supervisors: Richard King makes this point abundantly clear in his book. But there were also some outstanding individuals, as there are today, who gave, and are giving, of their considerable best in trying conditions.

The most justified criticism of the church-oriented residential schools may well be that they have tended to hang on to a priveleged position past the time when that priveleged position may have been warranted. "One has the impression," says Michael Gibbs, "that the Church at times fell into the sin of trying to maintain the status quo."⁴⁹ (This was in reference to the period after 1954). "This was understandable," Mr. Gibbs goes on, "inasmuch as the larger enrolment was a greater captive group to minister to than was now available in the settlements. Also, when one is running the gauntlet of criticism, there is a danger of continuing when one's purpose has ended."⁵⁰

At the end of his History of Chooutla School, Mr. Gibbs asks two important questions regarding the future of the school of which he is the principal. First: "Is there a need for an Indian residential school at Carcross?" He

⁴⁹ Michael Gibbs, History of Chooutla School, ms. p. 21.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

answers: "Not so much today as a need for a home from which the accidental products of our easy-going society can be cared for, since we cannot expect their parents to do so." The second question he asks is: "Should the Church be involved?" He answers: "No, if the basis of partnership with government is the Church's ability to find staff who will work longer hours for less pay than civil servants. This does not create mutual respect in the partnership. Yes, if the spiritual welfare of the child is recognized as of utmost importance and the Government will adequately provide for the material needs. Yes, if it is accepted that Governments' role is to make policy while the Church's rôle is to care for and protect the individual whose needs do not always fit into that policy. Yes, if the Church is prepared to accept such a role after continued self-examination and prayer and is prepared to move out when the need for its involvement passes."⁵¹

Searching questions such as these were being asked in 1967, not only at Carcross, but at the Lower Post Residential School as well. They are questions which require reasonable answers from Government and Church alike, answers which take into full account the changed and changing contact conditions of today.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 22.



Plate No. 19. The Chooutla Indian Residential School, Carcross.



Plate No. 20. The Lower Post Indian Residential School.

CHAPTER X

THE STATE AND EDUCATION

During the Trading-Post Mission Period of culture contact in Teslin, from 1903 to 1942, educational influences from Euro-Canadian culture were largely Church-controlled, the State influencing the education of Teslin Indians only indirectly, mainly through financial and other aid to the Chooutla Residential School.¹

It was not long after the highway went through in 1942, however, before the State's influence on the education of Teslin Indians began to be felt directly. In 1948 Teslin Indians began attending the public school opened in 1947 in the old log-built Taylor and Drury Co. store, in accordance with the change in government policy permitting "clean and healthy" Indian children to attend territorial schools. By then, the Mission School had closed, and the federal government was laying plans to build large new residential school buildings at Carcross and Lower Post and to operate them through the Anglican and Roman Catholic

¹ Aid was also given, between 1922 and 1953, to St. Paul's Hostel in Dawson, operated by the Anglican Church, mainly for Metis children. The hostel opened in 1920 with four pupils, and soon had 21. In 1951 there were 35 pupils. Two Metis girls from Teslin attended the hostel during the 1930's. They both reached Junior High School grades in the public school, married white men, and are living in Teslin today, where they work in the general store. One of them is married to the store keeper.

The Mission Summer School also received some slight aid from the Territorial Government in the form of old text books and curriculum guides.

Churches, but now with a large measure of State involvement with curricula and the appointment of "qualified" teachers.

As the post-war Period of Indigenous Cultural Disintegration in Teslin advanced, the State's involvement steadily increased while the Church's steadily declined. This would seem to have been a logical development from the establishment of multiple linkages between the white and Indian societies, yet there was more than just logic involved, as the following incident shows. In 1931 there were multiple linkages between Indian and white societies around Dawson and Whitehorse, yet in that year a storm of protest from Whitehorse citizens arose when one Peter Labarge, whose mother was white but whose father was Indian, was allowed by the Superintendent of Yukon Schools to attend the Lambert Street School in Whitehorse. A telegram was sent by some Whitehorse citizens to Dawson, then the capital of the Yukon, petitioning the Commissioner under no circumstances to let Indians into Territorial white schools. The Commissioner complied with the petition's request by ordering the Superintendent of Schools to expel Peter Labarge from school.²

Multiple linkages were not enough in themselves, in 1931, to create the conditions whereby an Indian child could

² Information supplied by Mr. Jack Hulland, former Yukon Superintendent of Schools, 1931 - 1956, in a personal interview, September 16, 1967.

attend schools which came under the jurisdiction of the Yukon Territorial Government. But in 1946, when the Joint Parliamentary Committee was formed in Ottawa to look into the problems of Indian education, the majority of Canadian citizens were ready, it seems, for the first time, both emotionally and intellectually, to reject the unconscious apartheidism of pre-war years. The years between 1931 and 1945 had obviously brought some changes regarding attitudes towards Indians. Each reader may speculate on the causes of these changed attitudes according to his or her reading of the history of those years. Perhaps the rise and fall of Nazi ideology had something to do with it. Perhaps stirrings among the Indians themselves were coming to the notice of Canadians, jarring many out of their indifference and complacency. Perhaps the growth across the country of the number and type of linkages between Indians and whites was causing more concern.

Whatever the reasons may have been, the time was ripe for changes in policy, and many of these changes were incorporated in the new Indian Act of 1951. But it is now 22 years since the work of the 1946 Parliamentary Committee began, and while the State has accomplished much in that time for Indian education in Teslin and the Yukon, the accomplishment does not yet satisfy either the needs and desires of the Indian people or the idealism of many Canadians.

In considering the State's involvement in the educa-

tion of Teslin Indians we will concentrate in this chapter on the work of the public schools and the hostels which enable children to attend certain public schools outside Teslin. We will first, however, clear the way for that concentration. We have already seen in the previous chapter how the Federal Government was involved in the residential schools at Carcross and Lower Post. That involvement continues today and will likely continue for some time to come, for the social and geographic conditions still make residential schools necessary. A number of Teslin children have in the past been placed by the Indian Agent in residential schools because they had no "proper" home. The likelihood of there being other children needing such placement in the future is fairly high in view of the present conditions in Teslin. Furthermore there are still quite a number of Teslin parents who prefer their children to go to residential school, and each year make efforts to have them accepted. These efforts, however, have become increasingly unsuccessful, for since 1964, the policy pursued by all the relevant authorities has been "a policy of joint education whereby Indian children attend Territorial Public Schools in preference to Indian Schools in so far as this is practical."⁴ This policy has not so far been rigidly adhered to in Teslin when a parent

⁴ Memorandum of Agreement between The Government of Canada and The Government of the Yukon Territory, Clause 2, Subsection (a), May 26, 1964.

has vigorously protested - with reasons - but it seems likely, without a modification of the basic policy, that for a successful protest in future the reasons will have to be very strong ones indeed.⁵

In 1947 the pressure to have a public school in Teslin came from a few white residents who had settled in the area since the war. The location of the school on the far side of the peninsula from the Indian village reflected the fact that the school was originally intended only for white children. But beginning in 1948, Indian children began to attend,⁶ so that by 1950 it was necessary to move to a larger building. The Territorial Government decided to build a completely new building, the first school building to be constructed anywhere in the Yukon since 1902. Commissioner Gibson of the Yukon Territorial Government set \$10,000 as a limit for construction costs. A one-room school of frame construction, with a three-room teacher's suite above, was built in 1951 by Jack Fraser and Indian labour, near to the first school, perhaps a 100 yards away, and a little closer to the Indian village. (See Plate No. 22)

⁵ According to Father Tanguay, interviewed in Teslin in August 15, 1967, twelve Teslin parents in 1967 wanted their children to go to the Lower Post School, but were refused permission to send them.

⁶ See p. 181.



Plate No. 21. Teslin's First Public
School Building (The Old
Taylor and Drury Co. Trad-
ing Post).



Plate No. 22. Teslin's Second Public
School Building (erected
in 1951 and now used as
teachers' apartments.)

In the summer of 1960 a second schoolroom was added and a second teacher engaged. In the previous year enrollment had risen to 30, with 15 Indians, 9 Metis and 6 white children attending. In the Report of the Committee on Education for the Yukon Territory, written in 1960, the authors commented that the Teslin School shows "an example of the type of integration that this Committee recommends."⁷ In 1961 enrollment had increased to 33 with 27 in Grades I-VI, 3 in Grade VII, 2 in Grade VIII, and 1 in Grade IX. The Committee's projected enrollment for the next six years showed an increase to 55 students by 1966, but the actual enrollment went up much faster than expected. A completely new school was therefore built in 1965 with three classrooms, an auditorium-gymnasium, and administrative office. (See Plate No. 23) This time the school was built on the Indian village side of the peninsula, and the former school building renovated as teachers' apartments. In the fall of 1967, plans were completed for the addition of two more classrooms to the new building.

The move, by stages, from 1947-1965, of Teslin's Public School from the extreme east side of the peninsula to a site very near to the Indian village reflects quite accurately the gradual change in thinking in Canada and the Yukon regarding public education for Indian children. The decision to allow Indian children into Territorial Public Schools came in 1948 after a directive from the Federal Government

⁷ Report of the Committee on Education for the Yukon Territory, 1960, p. 116.

was received by the Commissioner. As most of the money for the operation of the Territorial School System came from the Federal Government, the Territorial Council and the Yukon Department of Education had little choice but to comply with the directive. This is not to say that they would not have complied without financial pressure, but it is a fact worth noting that the official initiative for a change in policy came from the Federal Government and not from within the territory. The "1948 policy", it should also be noted, allowed Indian children, if clean and healthy, to attend Territorial Public Schools. The directive from Ottawa did not say that the Territorial Government should go about expanding the school system to provide day-school accommodation for Indian children. Yet in the next 16 years, from 1948 to 1964, the Territorial Government developed a policy, in co-operation with the Indian Affairs Branch, of providing public day school accommodation for Indians as well as whites in communities throughout the Yukon. In 1960, the Committee on Education made a recommendation in line with the developing policy. The Committee recommended: "That integrated day-schools to serve Indian and white children be established wherever possible throughout the Territory."⁸ It also recommended "that an agreement be entered into by the Territorial Government with the Indian Affairs Branch to provide for the education of all Indian

⁸ Ibid., p. 102.

children resident in the publicly-supported schools of the Territory."⁹

In 1964, a Memorandum of Agreement was signed between the Government of Canada (represented by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration) and the Government of Yukon Territory (represented by the Commissioner). The principal terms of that agreement were as follows:

"2. The Minister shall

- (a) pursue a policy of joint education whereby Indian children attend Territorial Public Schools in preference to Indian schools in so far as this is practical;
- (b) endeavour to ensure the regular attendance of Indian students at school;
- (c) endeavour to maintain a standard of health, cleanliness and clothing among the Indian students attending school comparable to that of the non-Indian children therein;
- (d) pay the Commissioner an annual tuition fee not to exceed \$350.00 each for every pupil in attendance at Territorial Schools at any time during the month.

3. The Commissioner shall

- (b) supply classroom accommodation necessary for the education and instruction of the Indian students;
- (c) accept Indian students for enrolment at Territorial schools at the commencement of each school year and provide such children with the same educational opportunities and instruction as is provided non-Indian children attending Territorial schools;
- (d) endeavour to ensure that there will be no segregation of the children in Territorial schools by reason of race or colour.

⁹

Ibid., p. 44.

4. It is mutually covenanted and agreed by the Minister and the Commissioner that
 - (a) The provisions of paragraph 2(d) hereof shall be applicable to the period April 1st, 1962 to March 31st, 1967, and shall continue at the same rate thereafter unless altered by a agreement between the parties hereto, not later than January 1st, 1967;
 - (b) Any programme for the building of Territorial schools in which Indian students are to be enrolled, to the capital cost of which the Government of Canada may be requested to contribute, will be undertaken on the basis of a separate agreement;"

The year following the signing of this agreement Teslin Indians had a new public school in their midst with accommodation for over 100 children of whom rather more than 50% would be Indian and Metis for years to come. Since then, two more classrooms have been added, so that now Teslin has a modern five-room school with a good auditorium-gymnasium, qualified teachers, and regular inspection and supervision by Department of Education officials. With so many advantages it may seem surprising that all the Indian parents do not support the schools with wholehearted enthusiasm, and that some of them still prefer, with reservation, to send their children to residential schools. But there are reasons for this.

First of all, there are those parents who wish to feel free in the winter time to leave the village for considerable periods in order to hunt or trap. In the whole village in the summer of 1967 only five Indian heads of families had wage-earning jobs. One had a contract as garbage collector at \$150 per month. Another had occasional jobs as a diamond drilling crew member on geological exploration work at considerable distances from Teslin. The third was a big game

outfitter who was employed irregularly in the summer months by American and Canadian hunters. The fourth and fifth were working as unskilled labourers on minor construction projects. Old age pensions and "welfare" payments, supplemented by berries, wild fowl, and big game meat, sustained life in the rest. Despite the general welcome given to social assistance payments, a few of today's Teslin band want to be more independent of assistance, and feel they can both keep alive and keep their dignity if they are free most of the year to trap, hunt and fish. A few still maintain winter cabins in the bush, finding them conveniently close to firewood and water. (In the village, water still has to be packed up from the lake, and fuel supplies brought in during the summer months.)

Secondly, there are those parents who believe that their children get a better education at residential school, at any rate in the early grades, where twenty-four hour supervision in good living conditions away from the increasing degradation of Teslin drunkenness is seen as a good thing. Some of these parents also believe that the residential schools provide for better spiritual development and character training than do the day schools.

Thirdly, there are those parents who are characterized by others in the village as people caring more about their own convenience than they do about their children's education, and who would just as soon be free in the winter time of the burdens of parental responsibility.

On the whole, however, most of today's Teslin parents

seem to favour the local public day school. They like to have their children at home and many see an educational advantage in being able to keep their children informed and in touch with native ways which would be lost at residential school. But a few of the Indians themselves, as well as some whites, are cynical about this. Referring to others in their village they would say that their children aren't taught the native ways any more at home. They say that is used as an excuse for their support of the local school. What they are really more interested in, these people say, are the extra welfare payments which they can claim for the support of their children who stay at home and attend the local school.

Although the local school is, by and large, supported by the Indian community today, there would seem to be a number of factors preventing their wholehearted support. One is that despite some attempts to involve Indian parents in the affairs of the school,¹⁰ the Indians see the school as belonging to the white man, to the alien culture to which they and their children are trying to adapt, the culture towards which ambivalent feelings are directed, the culture which still attracts even as it repels. Another factor which seems to prevent wholehearted support is the lower level of success which Indian children achieve in the school, particularly in the higher grades, in comparison with the success

¹⁰ The School Ordinance makes provision for the setting up of an Advisory Committee for each school in the territory. Such a committee functions in Teslin but Indians have taken little part in the proceedings.

achieved by white or Metis children. Indian parents are not able to appreciate the fact that so-called "cultural deprivation" tells against their children in school, and they are more likely to put their children's comparative lack of success in school down to teacher-prejudice than to anything else. "I don't know why, but that teacher just picked on my boy all last year" was one comment I heard in 1967. In spite of cultural deprivation, however, some of the Indian children do quite well in the school, and this fact tends to mitigate the overall village "pain" which the "failures" bring.

When children from Teslin reach Grade V at Chooutla School, Grade VI at Lower Post School, or Grade IX at Teslin Public School, they may transfer to one of the two hostels in Whitehorse and continue their education in Whitehorse Public and Separate Schools. The Yukon Protestant Hostel (now called the Yukon Hall) and the Whitehorse Hostel (Roman Catholic) were built in 1960 by the Indian Affairs Branch in order to enable Yukon Indian children to attend schools in Whitehorse in Grades V and up. The Yukon Hall is operated by Indian Affairs' employees while the Whitehorse Hostel is operated for Indian Affairs by the Roman Catholic Church. Both these hostels are located in Riverdale, the newest and wealthiest suburb of Whitehorse, where some 200 middle class families live in modern houses laid out on pleasant streets.

As part of the "hostel plan", Selkirk Elementary School was built in 1959 close to the site of the Protestant Hostel, costs being shared by Indian Affairs and the Territorial Government. In 1960 Indian children from the Protestant Hostel

joined white children from Riverdale in Selkirk St. School, in Grades V, VI, VII, and VIII. Indian children from the Whitehorse Hostel joined white children in Christ the King Separate School in downtown Whitehorse in 1960, and in Christ the King High School when it was opened in 1961 on a site adjacent to the Whitehorse Hostel.

One of the difficulties faced in the early years of this new venture in integrated education was that some of the classes at Selkirk St. School were overwhelmingly Indian, and objections were forthcoming from white parents who felt that educational levels were being depressed by Indian students inadequately prepared for the grades in which they had been placed. The level of spoken English was also a factor which worried many white parents. Eventually the Territorial Department of Education agreed to keep the number of Indian children in all classes to less than 50% of the enrollment in each class. To accomplish this, some Indian children had to be bussed in each day to Whitehorse Elementary School in downtown Whitehorse. This practice has continued.

Despite a recommendation of the Committee on Education, 1960, that an arrangement be made whereby the two hostels could board non-Indian as well as Indian children,¹¹ the authorities have not yet (with one or two temporary exceptions) seen fit to carry the school venture in integration over into the hostels. However, the administrators of both hostels have endeavoured to carry integration as far as they

¹¹ Op.cit., p. 27.

can, or as far as they deem wise. Indian students are encouraged to play hockey, baseball, etc., on locally-sponsored teams which accept both Indian and non-Indian players; white children from the Riverdale district have an open invitation to attend free movies on Saturday nights in the hostels; and the children attend downtown church services and club meetings in small groups. 12

The experience of many, if not most, of the children attending Whitehorse schools from the hostels has not, however, been very happy. The inevitable institutional character of the hostels, boarding as they do over 100 students each, has been particularly difficult for Indian children to accept. Their lives from morning to night, day in and day out, are regulated by the bells of school and the whistles of the hostel. School subjects are, for most, hard, and successes few and far between. Their white classmates, for the most part, outdistance them in academic studies; few reach the higher grades of high school before dropping out. To my knowledge no Teslin Indians have yet reached Grade 12 in Whitehorse, although a few Metis children from Teslin have done so.

In 1962 a vocational school was opened in Whitehorse, not far from the hostels. (See Plate No. 30). Indian students could attend this new school on the same basis as white students. Dormitory accommodation was provided in a separate

12

In the early 1960's they attended in large groups, a practice which tended to increase their feelings of separateness from the community.

wing of the school for both Indians and whites, without distinction. All fees for the Indian students were, and still are, paid for by Indian Affairs. Classes in the school are restricted to ten each, ensuring individual attention and a trained labour supply suited to the limited requirements of the Yukon market. Courses are given in automobile mechanics, heavy duty mechanics, heavy duty operation, carpentry, plumbing, welding, electricity, electronics, drafting, food services, hair-dressing, nursing (nurse's aid), and commercial skills such as typing, shorthand, and bookkeeping. Entrance requirements are set at Grade X for most courses, but consideration is given to students of sufficient maturity who have not reached this level of formal schooling. A few years ago, up-grading courses were provided to help such students reach a standard in English and Mathematics sufficiently high for them to be able to tackle the trade-training courses. At the conclusion of the courses the school helps successful graduates find employment. Several Teslin Indians, both boys and girls, have completed courses at this school and some, though not all, have found suitable employment in the Yukon in the trade for which they took training.

Since 1963, the Indian Affairs Branch has employed an Education Counsellor in the Yukon whose job is to encourage Indians in all educational endeavours, and to make arrangements for their enrolment in whatever course or institution seems likely to match their interests and qualifications

and lead to employment "success". The Education Counsellor travels much throughout the Territory, counselling students and prospective students. In Whitehorse he spends much time talking to Indian students in the two hostels, at the various schools, and in his office.

In recent years Yukon Indians have been given opportunities to take courses in British Columbia which are not available in the Yukon. One boy from Teslin recently completed a course in automobile body work in the Vocational School in Kelowna, B.C., and subsequently found employment in body shops in Lethbridge, Alberta, and in the Yukon. Another Teslin student, this time middle-aged, whose previous schooling had consisted of about four or five grades at the Teslin Mission Summer School, was sent out to the Vancouver Vocational Institute where he learned the carpentry of house construction. Returning to the Yukon he was employed for a time by Indian Affairs, building several log houses in Teslin village as part of the government's efforts to improve native housing conditions. This employment, unfortunately, did not last long.

All in all, the provision which the State is now making for Indian education is impressive. The Yukon has shared with the rest of Canada the benefits of greatly increased State involvement in Indian education since World War II. One measure of this increased involvement is the increase in Federal expenditures for Indian education, as seen in the following table:

STATEMENT OF FEDERAL EXPENDITURES FOR INDIAN
EDUCATION BY FISCAL YEARS. ¹³

Year ending March 31

1945	\$ 2,156,882
1950	6,221,792
1955	10,464,532
1960	24,908,033
1964	31,291,822

These increased expenditures reflect to some extent both post-war inflation and Indian population growth, but mainly they reflect the change to a new period of culture contact. This new period has seen a rapid growth of multiple linkages between Indian and white societies as well as widespread evidence that many Canadians favour the ending of State apartheid policies and the beginning of policies leading to the full and equal participation of Indian citizens in the on-going development of the Canadian nation, without loss of such elements of native cultures as are worth preserving and cherishing. The refinement of these policies and their more efficient application is a task which many see as awaiting not only the various agencies of the State, but also numerous voluntary organizations and individuals, both Indian and white, whose goal is human brotherhood, within a just society, in a world at peace. But there is another view.

¹³ The Canadian Superintendent, 1965, (The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1965), p.31.

In recent years throughout Canada there has been a marked growth in Indian leadership and a steady drop in the paternalism of white society. In some quarters, a new note of Indian militancy can, in fact, be heard. Indian power is being sought, for power is seen by some as the most realistic key to open the doors to the "just society". With examples such as the trade union movement over the past seventy-five years, and the independence movements in countless former colonies, some of the Indians of Canada have, perhaps, realized that to regain their self-respect, their total psychological well-being, they need to have again the power, within themselves, to control their own destiny.

In the Yukon the growth of Indian leadership is lagging behind that in other parts of Canada. This is not surprising in view of the more recent emergence of many Yukon Indians, such as the Teslins, from their former cultural orientations. The Superintendent of the Yukon Indian Agency, Mr. Alan Fry, in an interview a year ago, said that he felt that Yukon Indians are about a generation away from reaching a state where they can provide their own leadership and begin to forge ahead on their own, within Canadian society. The realists' view seems to be that when the Indians take the wheel with both hands and ask the white man to take a back seat in the Indians' automobile, then the necessary condition for justice to the Indian will have been secured. To the realists, "the refinement of present policies and their

more efficient application" is a view which fails to recognize the broader realities of power within society.

Perhaps the realists and the idealists can agree that although power ultimately is the key to the fuller freedom which Indians seek, the way in which power comes to them, by grabbing or by being given, whether in fear or in love, will largely determine the quality of the relationship, for years to come, of Indian people with the rest of Canadian society.



Plate No. 23. Teslin's Third (Present) Public
School Building, showing the
approach to the gymnasium from
the Indian Village.



Plate No. 24. A Teslin Indian Family,
1967.



Plate No. 25. The Yukon Hall (formerly
called The Protestant Hostel).



Plate No. 26. The Whitehorse Hostel
(Roman Catholic).



Plate No. 27. Selkirk St. Elementary School, Whitehorse.



Plate No. 28. Christ the King High School, Whitehorse.



Plate No. 29. F.H. Collins Secondary
School, Whitehorse.



Plate No. 30. The Yukon Vocational
Training School, Whitehorse.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

It is always interesting to consider the question, "Why does man study his past?" It is a question akin, in some respects, to the question often asked of mountaineers, "Why do you want to climb that mountain?" The enigmatic answer first given by the Everest climber Gregory, and often repeated, "Because it is there", is more tantalizing than satisfying. And so are many of the stock answers to the question, "Why does man study his past?" Consider, for example, these two answers: "If we do not know and respect our past, we cannot be worthy of the future"; and "He who remains ignorant of his past remains forever a child".¹ Again, these answers are intriguing, but somewhat vague and unsatisfying.

In looking back over Teslin's history, focussing particularly on education and conditions of culture contact, we have tried to gain some kind of perspective by keeping in mind Spicer's tentative approach towards an acceptable cross-cultural analytical scheme. This has enabled us to discern distinct culture contact periods as well as differing processes of cultural integration. Linkages, roles and sanctions, and the stability of the indigenous culture have been noted as important factors in giving to each contact period

¹ Attributed to Winston Churchill.

its distinctive character.

The questions now inevitably arise, "What about today's contact conditions and what about tomorrow's? And how will education fit in?" The historical study has, in a sense, enabled us to get our bearings; we have seen the path by which the present has been reached; but now, "Where do we go from here, and how do we proceed?"

One of the interesting and useful things about the Spicer approach is that it sensitizes the investigator to the dynamic nature of culture contact conditions: nothing remains constant for long. One period changes to another at critical points, and while there may be a lag in time before processes of cultural integration change to match the conditions of the new period the lag cannot, it would seem, be very long.

The reader will not fail to have noticed the contrast between the endings to Chapters VII and X. Chapter VII dealt with the most recent period of culture contact and ended with a depressing picture of present conditions in the Teslin Indian village. Chapter X dealt with education in this most recent period of culture contact, and ended with a somewhat hopeful and indeed impressive picture of the State's vastly increased involvement with Indian education in the Yukon and in Canada in recent years. It may be felt, therefore, by some, that with the con-

tinuation for a time of this new and impressive involvement of the State in Indian education, the depressing conditions of the Teslin Indian village will somehow "come right", almost automatically, and that all will soon be well for grandparents, parents, and children alike in the best of all possible worlds. It may be felt by some that the trend, now strongly set towards assimilation, will continue, and that in another generation, today's Indian children will have become "good, white Euro-Canadians", absorbed into white society, and that this will be a "good thing".

Since the evidence from the Teslin study does not suggest that this will in fact, happen, and since there are many who do not think it would be a "good thing" if it did happen, I now propose to analyze the present depressing conditions in the Teslin Indian village from a particular point of view. Following that I will suggest certain deficiencies in the popular understanding of the concept of acculturation, especially as it relates to the realities of new stirrings amongst the Indian people today. The coming of a new period of culture contact is now discernible, in which the use of another word to replace acculturation would seem to be advisable. Finally, I will relate the use of the word, transculturation, to education in the new period of culture contact we are now entering.

The cultural disintegration which has taken place in Teslin over the past 20 years or so is in part due, I believe, to a kind of social, cultural disease which is hard to name. It is something more than apathy. Anthropological writers have used various words and phrases to try to describe the disease or the conditions to which the disease gives rise: for example, "deculturation", "dysnomic conditions", "the social decay of the will to live", "a social kind of thanatomania", "dysphoria", and so on.² Whatever the name given to it the disease gets a hold at some threshold of mental suffering.

From all the descriptions of this disease and the conditions to which it gives rise, there would seem to be a good case for advocating the use of the term *anomie*, made popular by sociologists since Durkheim. The word *anomie* has associations with urban society, but there is no good reason, it would seem, for not adapting it for use in rural or village settings. What I wish now to argue is that the particular type of *anomie* which arises in villages like Teslin arises as an inverse correlate to the power an individual or a society has to make choices affecting the destiny of that individual or the society to which he belongs.

² Felix M. Keesing, Culture Change: An Analysis and Bibliography of Anthropological Sources to 1952, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1953), pp. 84-86.

This power has been lost over the past generation to Teslin people and anomie has resulted; the cure, I suggest, is to regain the power to make decisions affecting the course and the quality of one's life, or the lives of one's children, in other words, the power, in particular, to make decisions affecting education.

Robert M. MacIver has described anomie as "the breakdown of the individual's sense of attachment to society."³ The anomic person, he says, "lives on the thin line of sensation between no future and no past."⁴ Although particular individuals may fall into temporary moods that resemble anomie, and some may fall, in any times, deep into anomie itself, there are also times of profound disturbance when whole groups can be exposed to the malady. In these times the sustaining ways of culture are lost. Anomie is a state of mind, says MacIver, in which "the sense of social cohesion - the mainspring of morale - is broken or fatally weakened."⁵ In this state a person loses the "dynamic unity" of his personality.⁶

³ Robert M. MacIver, "Descent to Anomy," Readings in Sociology, Edgar A. Schuler (ed.), (New York: Crowell, 2nd ed., 1960), p. 806.

⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid., p. 807. ⁶ Ibid.

Although we do not have the psychological researches necessary for an adequate classification of types of anomie, MacIver nevertheless believes it possible to distinguish, in a very broad way, three main types. "First, there are those who, having lost altogether, or in great measure, any system of values that might give purpose or direction to their lives, having lost the compass that points their course for the future, abandon themselves to the present, but a present emptied of significance."⁷ These are the people who could be called sophisticated cynics, living by the hour, seeking immediate gratification as their defense against the ghosts of perished values.

"Second, there are those who, having lost their ethical goals, having no longer any intrinsic and socialized values to which they can harness their drive to action, transfer this drive to extrinsic values instead, to the pursuit of means instead of to the pursuit of ends beyond them, and particularly to the pursuit of power, so far as that lies within their reach."⁸ Unlike the first type, these people live for a future, but a future "self-centred, ego glorifying, bereft of social obligation."⁹ The truly anomic man of this type, in his drive for self-centred power, "has no limit short of necessity and no conscience that is more than expediency."¹⁰

⁷ Ibid., p. 807.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 808.

Third, there are those who are beset by a fundamental and tragic insecurity, the insecurity of the hopelessly disoriented. "They have lost the ground on which they stood, the ground of their former values. In the profoundest sense, they are "displaced persons'."¹¹ They are displaced from "their former environment, their former connections, their social place, their economic support."¹² In addition they may feel themselves rejected, and crushed beneath a sense of indignity, of exclusion, and of injustice. And then feelings of intense hate and counter aggressiveness may arise.

All of these types relate to highly-developed, sophisticated forms of society. But the idea of anomie, can, I believe, be applied to simpler societies which come into contact with highly sophisticated, highly complex ones, and thereby experience, over a number of years, the profoundest kind of cultural disturbance. A fourth type of anomie may, perhaps, be discerned in such cases. At any rate, I would like to suggest that in residual Indian communities, such as Teslin today, there exists a type of anomie which is akin in some respects to the first and third of MacIver's types, yet has distinctive features of its own. In Teslin almost all Indians over thirty years of age are afflicted with this malady, some, of course, to a greater extent than others.

11 Ibid. 12 Ibid.

To discern what may be called a type of anomie is, however, one thing: to describe it is quite another, and a much more difficult task. It may be useful to proceed, first of all, in negative fashion, by saying what this malady is not. It partakes not at all of any of the ego-glorifying aspects of MacIver's second type. It has nothing of the sophisticated cynicism of the first type. It most closely resembles the third type, but even here there is a lack of that hate-feeling and counter aggressiveness which MacIver mentions.

It may be said, perhaps, that this fourth type of anomie resembles nothing so much as a slow form of social death. There seems to be a pathetic hopelessness about it, an enormous bafflement over all the changes which have disrupted, beyond repair, the settled rhythm of their own folkways.

Less than thirty years ago, from late August to June of the following year, the whole Indian community of Teslin would be out on trap-lines, spread over hundreds of square miles, leading a form of life whose techniques had been developed to a high standard by generations of their forebears. These people then, according to unanimous reports, were alive, successfully coping with their harsh environment in a way which kept them mindful of their past, psychologically secure within the order of their accepted and stable customs, and hopeful of such measure of nature's seasonal bounty as would be sufficient reward for their acceptance of

life's struggle. Their life was by no means idyllic, but it was purposeful.

Then came the war, the highway, and the rising winds of change. The old ways eroded quickly. Survival depended, or so it seemed, on accepting the "welfare" bounty of the 'white' man, or, when it was available, and when it was not intolerably boring in its clock-regulated eight-hour 'doses', on accepting work-for-wages. In any case, cultural disintegration set in, mental confusion mounted, and the conditions for anomie were established. The particular type of anomie which developed in these circumstances was determined by many factors: the basically easy-going, peaceable nature of the people, the history of several generations' friendly contact with a relatively few white people, the confusion resulting from divided Christianity, the American Army inundation during the war, the impact of movies, radio, beer, airplanes, and journeys for their children to no less than six different schools, one as far away as Grouard, Alberta.

Today, all the Indians of Teslin, with only two or three exceptions, spend their winters, as well as their summers, in the village. The trap lines lie unused. Their children now, for the most part, go to the local government school. More than a few believe it better for their children to go away to residential school. Most disagree with this belief, but amongst themselves disagree for different reasons. Motives for different opinions seem to be quite

mixed. In any case, "Does it really matter what our opinions are?" Such is the unspoken question which seems to flicker from the eyes of most villagers over thirty years of age. Most, but not all: there are a few exceptions. There are those whose eyes, whose speech, whose genuine interest show them to have largely escaped the dampening, deadening effects of anomie. Indeed, it is the contrast provided by these few, all older people, which makes more vivid the symptoms of anomie which the vast majority show.

No disease, however, whether individual or social, can be fully described by its symptoms alone. Causes have to be considered also. It is my suggestion that the type of anomie which afflicts communities like Teslin, is caused chiefly by lack of power to make major choices. Lord Acton's dictum about power is well-known: "All power tends to corrupt; absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely." Someone (I forget who) has pointed out that it may equally be true that lack of power tends to corrupt, and that absolute lack of power tends to corrupt absolutely. There would seem to be plenty of evidence from history to support this contention, if such evidence is considered in conjunction with modern knowledge of psychology. For example, Aristotle's concept of "slaves by nature", based on close observation of widespread slavery in Greek society of the 4th century B.C., can reasonably be judged a mistake caused

by confusing symptoms with causes. Evidence is also forthcoming from the study of adolescent psychology, in which it has been shown again and again that overprotectiveness, or withholding the freedom to make responsible choices, can be crippling to personality development.

If it be granted that lack of power to make major choices is directly related to the anomie which seems to afflict communities like Teslin, what then? The proposition being put forward seems, so far, to suggest that the under-thirty-year-old people are not affected as deeply as the over-thirty-year-old people by the malady which robs the older people of much of their vitality and joy in living. It may be thought, then, that the most practical answer to the problem of acculturation is to give these younger people the education that will equip them to make responsible choices, not within the context of their own dying culture, but within the context of the larger Canadian society. Present policy would seem to be based on an affirmative answer to that question. But the question needs to be asked: Is this policy really comprehensive enough? Can the education of the young be completely divorced from the experience and thought of their elders? If the educational effort ignores the older people, will there not be greater disruption of the society? Will there not be greater spasms in the death scene of a culture? And will this not affect, for a considerable time, the well-being of the young?

The need for a multidimensional approach to the problems of villages like Teslin has been seen for some time by the Indian Affairs Department. Community and economic development, kindergartens, the lessening and eradication of racial prejudice amongst white people, the involvement of Indians in normal political processes - all these are seen as necessary ingredients in a prescription potent enough to cure the social disease I have called anomie. The need for adult education is also seen, and in some parts of Canada, great advances have been made; but not in Teslin, nor in many villages in the Yukon like Teslin.

The Indian people of Teslin and the Yukon are now living in a culture contact period in which cultural influences from white society are overwhelming. The mass media and the white-dominated school system are amongst the greatest of these influences. But there are signs that a new period is approaching; there are fresh currents in the air.

As this is being written in the fall of 1968, conferences are being held across Canada in which the Indian people are putting forward their views concerning new legislation to replace the Indian Act of 1951. On October 22nd, 1968, Chief Frank Sidney of Teslin was named Co-chairman, with Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien, and Minister without portfolio Robert Andres, at a Yukon Conference convened to discuss Indian Act reforms with band chiefs from the Yukon and Northern British Columbia. Words and phrases such as "self-determination", and "participatory democracy"

are in the air at these conferences in the fall of 1968.

In the new period of culture contact heralded by such words and phrases at such conferences noted above, the concept of acculturation, as popularly understood, would seem to be not only inadequate, but misleading. The word acculturation, as generally used by anthropologists, means the interaction of two cultures in contact, and as such is a useful word in any period of culture contact. But the popular press particularly has abused this word, often using it in the sense that Indian people are being, or should be, "acculturated" to white society, or to the dominant culture of Canada. The meaning of the word has, therefore been corrupted.

In relation to the new period of culture contact there would also seem to be inadequacies in the processes of integration distinguished by the Spicer researchers. Of the four main processes noted by this group, namely, incorporation, fusion, compartmentalization, and assimilation, the middle two were seen as operating in unstable contact situations. In such unstable situations the phenomena of culture strain and cultural anxiety inevitably result, producing "dysnomic conditions" leading to anomie. An Indian in the Yukon today can seemingly try to escape in only two directions: towards incorporation or towards assimilation. But those who can hold to processes of incorporation are rare indeed: in Teslin there are perhaps only three or four

people, all over 70, one of whom is George Johnston, who have been able to avoid anomie by proudly holding on to their own culture, integrating into it what they wanted of white culture and no more. These people cry out for the defence and preservation of the Tlingit language and the Inland Tlingit culture, but their cries go unheeded. They are defenders of a worthy, but lost cause, and their voices are voices crying in the wilderness.

Escape in the other direction is, in some ways, easier, particularly for younger people. But even those who are most successful in this move do not escape altogether, for in gaining their "success" they lose a real and important part of their identities. This loss would seem to be both great and permanent.

Escape to the left seems impossible; escape to the right unsatisfying; to go downwards is to sink into anomie. The question begs to be asked: Is there not "a more excellent way", an escape upwards?

It is interesting to note that Malinowski did not like the word acculturation and rarely used it. He advocated, in fact, the use of the word transculturation, coined by Don Fernands Ortiz.¹¹ Malinowski preferred this word, transculturation, because there are "no implications of one standard dominating all the phases (of culture change) but

¹¹ Bronislaw Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. viii.

a transition in which both sides are active, each contributing its quota, each merging into a new reality of civilization."¹²

Whether or not a new period of culture contact for the Indians of the Yukon will, in fact, arise from the conferences now being held, would seem to depend not only on the willingness of Canadian society to give a measure of power to the Indians but also on the willingness of the Indians to accept that power and the responsibilities that will go with it. If the new Indian Act arising from the conferences embodies in its provisions the concept of transculturation, and if the Indian people can be encouraged, and are willing, to accept the implications of that concept, then a new period of transition, "in which both sides are active, each contributing its quota, each merging into a new reality of civilization" will have arrived. The escape route upward will be both inviting and feasible.

The concept of transculturation applied to education in this new period will possibly lead Canadians, whatever their ancestry, to consider such things as: Indian parents

¹² Malinowski, "Introduccion to Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azucar, by Fernando Ortiz (Havana, 1940) pp. xvi - xvii. Malinowski also employed the term transculturation in his article, "The Pan-African Problem of Culture Contact," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII, No. 6 (1943), p. 650.

acting on school committees and boards; older Indian people acting as part-time teachers in school, telling stories, perhaps, of days long ago, of journeys and hunts, of feats of skill, and bridges that let down in the middle, of old stone tools ingeniously wrought, and of life close to the bosom of nature; Indian parents acting as playground supervisors¹³; Indian history books produced for school use; the musical heritage of the Indian people revived and built upon; adult education courses of a very practical nature suitable for older Indians; and Indians broadcasting on the radio¹⁴. The list is only suggestive; transculturation should have many facets, should be truly seminal.

The key to the concept of transculturation is participation in decision-making and in the acceptance of responsibilities in a dynamic, culture - building venture. It would seem to be a concept particularly well-suited to the Yukon and to Canada's northland at this time of expansion and development.

Education, guided by the concept of transculturation, should mean education for all, suited to a probable future, but probable only in the sense that people, Indian

¹³ In the summer of 1967, several Teslin Indian parents complained of the lack of playground supervision at the school.

¹⁴ This has already happened in Whitehorse.

Canadians and other Canadians alike, intend as far as possible to build the society they want, and not just suffer it to happen. In the new period of culture contact which today seems a possibility, Indians and whites will perhaps, learn to work together in the field of education. A new process of integration will then come into operation at a higher level than either incorporation or assimilation. Then the blight of anomie may disappear from Teslin, and her people take heart again with new hope and new resolve.

GLOSSARY

Clan. See sib.

Exogamy. The practice of a person seeking a mate outside his group, usually found in clans and moieties.

Levirate. The practice of requiring or permitting a man to marry the widow of his brother, or of another close relative.

Matrilineal. Referring to the transmission of authority, inheritance, or descent primarily through females.

Matrilocal. Having reference to a married couple's residing with the wife's family or kin group.

Moiety. A primary social division in which the tribe is made up of two groups.

Polyandry. Marriage in which a woman can have more than one husband at the same time.

Polygyny. Marriage in which a man may have more than one wife at the same time.

Sib. A pseudo-kinship or unilateral extended lineage group in a community. A division within a moiety.

Sororate. A man's marrying his wife's sister, on either a mandatory or permissive basis, after the wife's death.

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APPENDICES

Native Indian and White population by sex for Yukon, 1961 (from D.B.S. records).

District	Population			Native Indian			White			Other		
	T.	M.	P.	T.	M.	P.	T.	M.	P.	T.	M.	P.
Yukon	14,628	8,178	6,450	2,167	1,045	1,122	12,262	7,002	5,260	159	114	45
81 Arctic Health District	217	120	97	151	70	81	63	47	16	-	-	-
Old Crow Village (Unorg.)	217	120	97	151	70	81	63	47	16	-	-	-
82 E. Central Health District	1,576	1,010	566	288	134	154	1,245	837	408	43	39	4
Unorganized	1,234	817	417	201	90	111	992	688	304	41	39	2
Stewart Crossing	32	18	14	3	1	2	29	17	12	-	-	-
Pelly Crossing	151	74	77	142	67	75	9	7	2	-	-	-
Minto	13	7	6	13	7	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mayo Road	33	17	16	9	3	6	24	14	10	-	-	-
Keno Hill	156	89	67	2	-	2	151	87	64	-	-	-
Minto Bridge	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	3	2	1
McQueston Bridge	5	1	4	5	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Johnson Creek	3	3	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-
Other parts	61	35	26	13	5	8	48	30	18	-	-	-
Elsa	395	274	121	14	6	8	363	251	112	18	17	1
Calumet	377	292	85	-	-	-	357	272	85	20	20	-
No Cash	6	5	1	-	-	-	6	5	1	-	-	-
Mayo Town	342	193	149	87	44	43	253	149	104	2	-	2
83. Health District #32 (pt.)	33	14	19	1	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-
Herschel Island (Unorg.)	33	14	19	1	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-
84 Southeast Health District	1,808	1,001	807	692	355	337	1,107	639	468	9	7	2
Jack Fish Lake	24	24	-	-	-	-	24	24	-	-	-	-
Teslin	231	126	105	135	73	62	96	53	43	-	-	-
Watson Lake	597	305	292	86	34	52	588	269	239	3	2	1
Upper Liard	199	107	92	184	86	78	35	21	14	-	-	-
Johnsons Crossing	33	17	16	17	9	8	16	8	8	-	-	-
Mile 710 (Alaska Hwy.)	9	2	7	1	-	1	8	2	6	-	-	-
Mile 733	50	24	26	-	-	-	50	24	26	-	-	-
Mile 816	12	7	5	12	7	5	-	-	-	-	-	-

Native Indian and White population by sex for Yukon, 1961 - Con.

District	Population			Native Indian			White			Other		
	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
84 Southeast Health District - Con.												
Mile 777 (Alaska Hwy.)	4	2	2	-	-	-	4	2	2	-	-	-
Mile 687	27	13	14	22	10	12	5	3	2	-	-	-
Mile 730	12	12	-	-	-	-	12	12	-	-	-	-
Brooks Brook	16	10	6	7	3	4	9	7	2	-	-	-
Quiet Lake	2	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-
Liard River	9	5	4	-	-	-	9	5	4	-	-	-
Carcross	175	95	80	69	36	33	106	59	47	-	-	-
Cowley	4	2	2	-	-	-	4	2	2	-	-	-
Squanga Lake	11	7	4	11	7	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Little Atlin	8	4	4	8	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mile 803 (Alaska Hwy.)	9	4	5	-	-	-	9	4	5	-	-	-
Mile 849	4	2	2	-	-	-	4	2	2	-	-	-
Mile 872	16	6	10	7	1	6	9	5	4	-	-	-
Mile 910	11	7	4	-	-	-	11	7	4	-	-	-
Mile 911	22	10	12	-	-	-	22	10	12	-	-	-
Bruce Lake	12	12	-	1	1	-	11	11	-	-	-	-
Ross River	132	72	60	128	70	58	4	2	2	-	-	-
Ketza River	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
Other Parts	177	123	54	24	14	10	147	104	43	6	5	1
85 Southwest Health District												
Carmacks	1,338	716	622	405	180	225	927	533	394	6	3	3
Aishihik	218	110	108	146	67	79	72	43	29	-	-	-
Canyon Creek	61	34	27	46	23	23	15	11	4	-	-	-
Champagne	20	13	7	1	1	-	19	12	7	-	-	-
Haines Junction	56	27	29	45	22	23	11	5	6	-	-	-
Kloo Lake	199	102	97	44	14	30	154	88	66	1	-	1
Mile 987 (Alaska Hwy.)	13	6	7	13	6	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mile 1009	3	2	1	-	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	-
Mile 1013	4	3	1	4	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mile 1019	11	6	5	-	-	-	11	6	5	-	-	-
Mile 1022	43	21	22	12	6	6	31	15	16	-	-	-
	3	1	2	-	-	-	3	1	2	-	-	-

Native Indian and White population by sex for Yukon, 1961 - Con.

District	Population			Native Indian			White			Other		
	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
85 Southwest Health District - Con.												
Mile 1026 (Alaska Hwy.)	24	14	10	-	-	-	24	14	10	-	-	-
Mile 1054	5	4	1	-	-	-	5	4	1	-	-	-
Arch Creek	3	3	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-
Beaver Creek	96	41	55	4	-	4	91	41	50	1	-	1
Boullion Creek	5	4	1	2	1	1	3	3	2	-	-	-
Burwash Creek	6	4	2	-	-	-	6	4	-	-	-	-
Burwash Flats	4	4	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	-	-
Burwash Landing	57	27	30	37	17	20	20	10	10	-	-	-
Destruction Bay	104	58	46	1	1	1	100	55	45	2	-	1
Dry Creek	6	3	3	1	-	-	5	3	2	-	-	-
Koidern	12	9	3	1	-	1	11	9	2	-	-	-
Quill Creek	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Scotty Creek	15	8	7	15	8	7	11	8	3	-	-	-
Snag	31	15	16	20	7	13	11	1	4	-	-	-
White River	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Mile 1095 (Alaska Hwy.)	9	5	4	-	-	-	9	5	4	-	-	-
Mile 1104	5	4	1	-	-	-	5	4	1	-	-	-
Mile 1124	15	8	7	-	-	-	15	8	7	-	-	-
Mile 1128	3	2	1	-	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	-
Mile 1156	6	5	1	-	-	-	6	5	1	-	-	-
Mile 1168	4	2	2	-	-	-	4	2	2	-	-	-
Mile 1174	15	12	3	1	-	1	14	12	3	1	-	-
Mile 1200	2	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-
Mile 1204	5	4	1	-	-	-	5	4	1	-	-	-
Mile 920 (see 87 Whitehorse H. D.)	155	83	72	5	1	4	150	82	68	-	-	-
Mile 921 (Alaska Hwy.)	29	19	10	-	-	-	29	19	10	-	-	-
Mile 922	27	13	14	1	-	-	26	13	13	-	-	-
Mile 923	4	2	2	-	-	-	4	2	2	-	-	-
Mile 925	8	4	4	-	-	-	8	4	4	-	-	-
Mile 926	9	4	5	1	-	-	8	4	4	-	-	-
Mile 928	4	1	3	1	-	1	3	1	2	-	-	-
Mile 937	27	14	13	-	-	-	27	14	13	-	-	-
Mayo Road	7	5	2	-	-	-	7	5	2	-	-	-
Takhini Hot Springs	36	24	12	9	4	5	27	20	7	-	-	-
Other Parts												

Native Indian and White population by sex for Yukon, 1961 - Con.

District	Population			Native Indian			White			Other		
	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
86 West Central Health District	1,369	867	502	210	101	109	1,148	757	391	11	9	2
Unorganized	488	384	104	24	11	13	462	371	91	2	2	-
Thistle Creek	3	3	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-
Kirkman Creek	2	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-
Pelly River	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
Granville Creek	35	19	16	-	-	-	35	19	16	-	-	-
Dominion Creek	10	6	4	-	-	-	10	6	4	-	-	-
Bear Creek	138	89	49	-	-	-	137	88	49	1	1	-
Rock Creek	3	3	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-
Dominion	76	76	-	-	-	-	76	76	-	-	-	-
Ogilvie Bridge	7	7	-	-	-	-	7	7	-	-	-	-
North Fork	19	16	3	-	-	-	19	16	3	-	-	-
South Fork	3	1	2	-	-	-	3	1	2	-	-	-
Hunker Creek	8	6	2	-	-	-	8	6	2	-	-	-
Quartz Creek	3	2	1	-	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	-
Carmacks Fork	2	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-
Victoria Gulch	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
Horestake Gulch	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Bonanza	11	9	2	-	-	-	11	9	2	-	-	-
Grand Forks	4	2	2	-	-	-	4	2	2	-	-	-
Ballart Creek	9	7	2	-	-	1	9	7	2	-	-	-
Jensen Creek	2	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-
Granville	49	49	-	-	-	-	49	49	-	-	-	-
Sulphur	52	52	-	-	-	-	51	51	-	1	1	-
Gravel Lake	2	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-
Stewart River Settlement	7	4	3	-	-	-	7	4	3	-	-	-
Moosehide	22	10	12	22	10	12	-	-	-	-	-	-
Forty Mile	3	2	1	-	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	-
Glacier Creek	3	3	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-
Miller Creek	3	2	1	-	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	-
Other Parts	7	7	-	1	1	-	6	6	-	-	-	-
Dawson City	881	483	398	186	90	96	686	386	300	9	7	2

Native Indian and White population by sex for Yukon, 1961 - Con.

District	Population			Native Indian			White			Other	
	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M. F.
87 Whitehorse Health District	8,287	4,450	3,837	420	205	215	7,770	4,187	3,583	90	56 34
Unorganized	3,256	1,769	1,487	203	114	89	3,039	1,650	1,389	14	5 9
Mile 915 (Alaska Hwy.)	4	4	-	3	3	-	1	1	-	-	- -
Mile 917	5	2	3	-	-	-	5	2	3	-	- -
Mile 918	31	16	15	8	2	6	23	14	9	-	- -
Mile 920	26	15	11	-	-	-	25	15	10	1	- 1
Mile 921 (See 85 Southwest H.D.)											
Indian Reserve	123	67	56	116	65	51	7	2	5	-	- -
Whitehorse District	458	255	203	19	11	8	437	242	195	2	- 8
Whitehorse R.C.A.F. Station	2,341	1,260	1,081	23	15	8	2,307	1,242	1,065	11	3 8
Other Parts	235	134	101	29	17	12	206	117	89	-	- -
Whitehorse City	5,031	2,681	2,350	217	91	126	4,731	2,537	2,194	76	51 25

Note: This table does not include figures for the 40 Eskimos resident in the Yukon in 1961.

APPENDIX B

Transcription of a tape recording: The Rev. Robert Ward, Rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, Kearny, New Jersey, to Mr. E. L. Bullen, Edmonton; February 1968.

Your first question was: "What changes in the life of the Teslin people were brought about by the American invasion for construction of the Alaska Highway. How were the people affected physically? First of all - food, clothing and housing?"

The American invasion almost began in the summer of 1941, when a group of people landed in Teslin to make a survey for a highway. This was something we didn't expect, but we did accept these people who were working for the Public Roads Administration. Mostly they were a group of Mormon boys, a very nice group, and they began laying out a highway moving both ways from Teslin village.

Just when the army arrived, I do not recall, but we who lived at Teslin were most fortunate in that we first met brass, high officials, who came in by airplane, brought in by our Yukon bush pilots. They met the McClearys, the people in the village, and they told us in a sense what to expect. Our Indian people at Teslin were most fortunate in that it was decided that the Indian village of Teslin would be off limits at the very outset, and that no one was to go into the village of Teslin, that is army personnel, unless they were accompanied by either a police - a Royal Mounted Policeman, or by one of the missionaries. This meant that our people were to be isolated physically from the army when they arrived. They did not arrive at once, and when they did arrive we in Teslin were protected.

Of course there was a great flurry of excitement when the army did arrive, and naturally groups of people were interested and were taken around the village.

On their part the Indians had free access to the army barracks, and naturally, both the adults and the children moved into the army camp, saw what was happening and naturally were fed at the mess house. This was the first thing that began to affect our native people, the change of food. Also, one of the reasons why the food was changed was that the Indians were so interested in watching what was happening that they neither went out hunting or fishing, or when it came time in the fall to go back to their camps, most of them preferred to stay in town and watch what was going on. There was always things to be done, of course, they could help in many ways, and the mess house was always a good supply of food.

Then, too, the Indian women were able, with their beadwork, and their skins, to carry on a great deal of trade, so that the money problem was never really acute because the

Indians had a means of obtaining money from the soldiers and they also had money to buy things at the store, so that whether they went out on their traplines or whether they stayed in town and watched things they were able to buy food for themselves for the winter.

Clothing for the Indians was never a problem because we had both McCleary and Taylor and Drury stores, but clothing for the army boys was something different. They did have their G.I. issue, but they soon found that Indian moccasins and Indian moosehide gloves were much warmer than the issue, so there was quite a bit of trade going on.

As far as housing was concerned, our Indians at Teslin had their own homes that they's had for years, and, of course, they lived in their own houses and carried on much as they would before. Housing was never a problem, clothing was never a problem, food was never a problem.

Your second question was: "Were they affected in their yearly cycle of activities? Was trapping or fishing affected? Was the life routine from month to month of man, woman or child, affected in any way?"

Most decidedly. The fact that our yearly cycle was changed brought upon us our problems. With most of the natives not going off to their regular trapping lines in the winter, and with the food coming from the mess hall, or being purchased from the stores, their usual system of eating meat almost entirely, was changed to eating bought foods and this didn't seem to sit well with their physical condition, so that soon we began to notice that they were getting colds, and they were picking up all sorts of things.

Our natives did not have the resistance to the white man's diseases and we began to come down with all sorts of different things that we had never had before. Fortunately, there was the army settlement at Morley Bay, and the medical staff at Morley Bay were most interested in our natives and they would come over regularly to check up on us. This was of great help, because by October we were in bad shape because we had sort of an epidemic of almost everything imaginable in the community and had it not been for the army medics, their medicines and their help, we would have wiped out the village because it was simply cruel. At one time there were no more than three or four men able to do anything in the village' everyone else was either sick in their homes or sick in the sort of hospital which was set up in the Anglican Mission House and the Anglican Church building.

When we recovered from our sickness sometime after Christmas, the Indians decided it was better to get out of town, and so those who could, those who were able, got out and went back to their trap lines and back to their regular way of life, and they were much better all round. Of course there were always some who for age or for other disabilities,

or for their own purposes, stayed within the community and these people, having gone through the siege seemed to recover afterwards.

Your third question was: "Were the Indians' social customs affected in any way? Was there any effect on marriage customs?"

The marriage customs began to break down before the army arrived. The smart (Smarch?) boys, some of them, stayed in the village and took old wives because the elders told them to, but two of the younger boys moved out and refused to accept the old ways of doing things. So this happened before the army moved in. I don't recall any instance of Crows marrying the Crows or Wolf with Wold. They all seemed to be settled amicably back and forth, but the divisions were there and they were most insistent, and nobody tried, as far as I know, to break these things. With the highway coming I don't think it really made any difference.

The next question is: "Who were the chiefs in your time? How did they react to change?"

When I first went to Teslin in 1934, Chief Billy was the chief, and it was one of his widows that one of the smart (smarch?) boys was married off to, but when the highway came through, William Johnston was the chief, and he went along with the authorities because he had been briefed by the authorities. He knew that his people would be protected and that no army personnel, or outsiders, actually, would come into the village and disrupt things, so that the chief was very happy with what was going on. They were getting revenue, they were getting food, they were getting excitement, and while they did have sickness, the sickness was ameliorated by the work of the army personnel themselves, so that the chief was quite happy with what was happening to his people. Of course I have to admit that Chief William was bossed by the old women, so that, "Did their views have much influence on the thinking and behaviour of the people?" This is your question. Not really, because people are people, and the chiefs did not make that much difference really.

The next question said: "Did the highway affect language much? Did English become more widely used? And did this in any way affect the desire for learning to read and write?"

Rather strangely, most of our Indians could speak better English than some of the week troops that came up from the deep south to build the highway, and many of the army personnel were quite surprised to find Indians reading the national magazines and having radios in their homes and listening to

the nightly newscast. So that the idea of wanting to learn to read and write as a result of the highway - no, this to me, didn't seem to make much difference because we had always held classes in reading and writing both with the children and with the adults long before the highway came through and while in the early days we used to use interpreters to tell the old folks the church stories latterly we didn't use a church interpreter because they could all speak and understand English.

Your next two questions have to do with the use of alcohol and promiscuity.

From the beginning we in Teslin, were protected from almost both these problems so that, while I was there, neither of them became a factor.

Your next question: "Were the horizons of the Teslin Indians broadened by the highway? Did they travel on it much soon after it was built?"

Most decidedly. They went after it immediately. They rode the trucks, they moved back and forth with the work gangs. They took great pride in moving along the highway visiting their friends, and it was marvellous to see them sort of open out. You must remember that Teslin was isolated by five days, either by boat going down the Teslin River to Hootalinqua, then into Lake Labarge, and then into Whitehorse, or a five day walk across the swamps and hills to Whitehorse or Carcross. When the highway came in they were able to thumb a ride and within one day reach Whitehorse. And, of course, they went.

You know the old story of George Johnston and his Chevrolet. He had obtained it in Whitehorse way back in about '33, I think, and he used that back and forth along the ice on Teslin Lake between Teslin community and Johnstown, his own little community in British Columbia. And he had built a road himself with his friends, from Teslin down the river to about Fox Creek, and he used to charge them fifty cents a ride during the summer time. This was before the highway was built. When the highway was built the army engineers did George the honor of using part of his alignment, so that when the highway was finally put through to Whitehorse, George, of course, rode his car into Whitehorse and that was a great thrill. Also Indians who had money they'd saved up were able to purchase trucks and they moved either by truck or by ramshackle car they had, back and forth along the highway, and went to their trap lines in the wintertime, and their summer trapping grounds or spring trapping grounds in the later part of the year.

You must remember that the single highway was not the only one available to the Indians. The road to Ross River was opened up by the Canol group, and our Indians from

Teslin normally had their winter trap lines up the Canol Road. Of course to get there they had gone up the Nisutlin and then into Wolf Lake or the various places. But when the Canol Road went through from Johnson's Crossing up to Ross River it went into the territory, especially that the Fox family used, and the Smith family, and the Morris family. Similarly the Johnson family were down in British Columbia, and as the road went south our Indians got in their vehicles and went south round Swift River and were using the highway as a means of getting to their traplines rather than going overland or preferably taking the boat up the lake into B.C. territory.

Your next question had to do with air traffic during construction.

It depends what you mean by air traffic. There was a lot of traffic going overhead, and the Alaska Highway was built, in one way, to make intermediate stops between the large airports. Edmonton, of course, at the bottom, Fairbanks at the top, Whitehorse in the middle, and as the highway moved up north, air strips were constructed along the highway at hundred mile intervals. This allowed those little P41's to sit down to get gas whereas the old B - whatever-they-were-called, the twin-engine ships, would ferry their gear and mother them along, but there was a lot of traffic and we saw bombers going to the western front in Germany over our land, and there was a lot of traffic. The Teslin airstrip was built by the D.O.T. McCleary was one of the people who was early taking down the brush and while I lived there I also cut down brush and trees to clear the airport for myself and get wood for my winter fuel from the airport. But, of course, it was the D.O.T. who did the job really.

Your second set of questions, questions relating specifically to education: "Would you first of all describe summer school in the old log church. Who attended, what ages, boys or girls, what books were used and other supplies, hours spent in school, attendance regularity, attitude of pupils and parents to learning, retention for summer to summer, and standards reached?"

Summer school at Teslin was really a time of great joy. The young student who went up there settled himself in, got things ready in the early summer and then waited for the Indians to arrive from their various trapping grounds. It was always a high old time when the people came to town and with the long sunlight in the summer time there was never any worry about the darkness coming down and spoiling the fun. The church bell was a great help because it woke people up in the morning and it also, late at night, gave them an idea of when they ought to go to bed. We rang the bell a good hour before school began. You rang it a

half hour before school began, 15 minutes, 5 minutes, and then you rang it like mad when it was time to start. Of course, all classes were held in the school and we used those good old phonic charts for years before. I can remember I used those same phonic charts when I first went to school about 1917, and I taught from them in Teslin. I taught from them in various places in the Yukon as I was teaching in the Indian schools.

We would always begin with a prayer and a hymn, and then the various classes would come forward to do their work. I always used a buddy system. We had the various grades sort of set apart because of what they could do and we used each to help one really, as, while we had the books from the Education Department as readers, we had to, at times, supply our own exercise books, by going to the store and making shift with wrapping paper cut and lined, and then tied together with string. But I found that they enjoyed reading greatly; they also enjoyed arithmetic. Singing we had a lot of fun with, and because the roof was galvanized iron, when it began to rain very hard we always had to stop our schooling and we would sing during the time because the rain on the roof would outshout, as it were anything that was going on. The Jerry and Jane work was used for them, but that was only for the lower grades, and as we moved into the upper grades we used the regular grading system. Our boys and girls both started as soon as they could come to school, around six or seven, and went up as far as fifteen and sixteen. We kept regular school hours, 9:00 till 12:00, 1:00 till 3:00, and then in the afternoon we always had things to do. There were games to play, and in the evening there was usually a pick-up game of baseball with the mounted policeman on one side and myself as the mission man, on the other.

At least once a week we would have the adult classes and, of course, we would be having church services in the evening. Not every evening, but a lot of evenings during the summertime because they were only there during the summer so there was a certain amount that had to be done; therefore you used all the time you possibly could. Each year we were expected to be able to present some sort of confirmation class to the Bishop and so that meant a great deal of adult education. There was no sense in confirming the younger children who didn't know what you were talking about so they were mostly adult or late teenage confirmations. This meant that you not only taught during the day but you had your evening hours taken care of, and the recreation of playing the baseball against the other team was an awful lot of fun.

Then, too, we had our dances, and we would also go off on, in a sense, fishing trips, or hunting trips with the natives because you had to eat, and so they did. One of the problems of retention between summers was that so seldom the same missionary student went back the next year.

I was fortunate that I had at least three years in Teslin so I could see them progress and we didn't have to get acquainted each year.

Standards reached? Well, ho, about seventh or eighth grade, I would say. Not much more, because while they were regular while they were in the village, they were only there from May till the end of August, and there's only a certain amount of work that can be done.

Your next question: "How many villagers went out of Teslin for schooling? Do you know who went to Carcross?"

During my time at Teslin, members of the Jackson family, and I think they were Joe Ladue's children. Anyway, Mrs. Ladue was a sister to Mrs. Geddes. She was a Sidney before she was married, so the Sidneys and the Jackson children, or the grandchildren, went to Carcross. Children who went to the boarding school from Teslin were sent mainly because the parents wanted the children to get an education and they felt that they would have a better chance away. These were parents who had been outside, that is, had been away from Teslin, and they had ambition for their children. The attitude to schools was that if the children went away to school they would be taken away from the family for at least seven years. True, indeed, they could come back for vacation if the parents would get them, but when you send a girl off to school and they were mostly girls that went, you lost her services for seven years, and when she came back she really wasn't much use to the tribe because her ways were so different. So that there was, in that sense, a divided loyalty with regard to schools. Most of the parents preferred to have their children go to the local school during the summertime and be with an uncle to be educated in the ways of trapping and fishing the rest of the year. But the girls - you could send them off to school if you didn't need them and I think this makes quite a difference as far as schooling was concerned.

Your next question: "What educational changes did the highway bring? Did they have any construction camp schools, and could or did any Indians attend?"

Now, when I was on the highway (I left in the fall of '46), there were really no children on the highway near Teslin. The construction camps were mostly either people without children or who had left their children somewhere else so that at that time there were no construction camp schools. The Indians attended Teslin, or if they were lucky enough, went to Carcross. As far as I know nobody went to St. Paul's in Dawson from Teslin. Most of the people who were at St. Paul's in Dawson City were half-breed youngsters from the Yukon River area, so that I don't know of any one from Teslin who was at St. Paul's.

"How many white people were permanent residents in Teslin?"

When I left there were very few. There were the two Roman priests, there were the McClearys, the mounted policeman, and an Anglican missionary. Then there were the people in the airport but they weren't really permanent residents and there were the beginnings of people in some of the wayside camps, but really no permanent residents in Teslin except at the village itself.

Your 3rd. major set of questions had to do with the religious life of the people. "What proportion of the people in 1934 were Anglicans?"

In 1934 they all were.

"How many of these were deeply converted to Christianity?"

That was the sort of a question that a young student from college really had no means of even thinking about. They had a basic religious life certainly, and we who were young fellows in those days, went up to teach in the summertime to get experience, to try our wings, but really we weren't delving deeply into how much they were deeply converted to Christianity. They came to the services, they entered into the singing. We visited them in their homes, we would pray with them in English, they would offer prayers in their own language. They appeared to be enthusiastic, and really to be honest; it was something for them to do. The missionaries had been there for many, many years, each summer coming in, and this became a routine. The missionaries task was to teach them, to prepare them for the laying on of hands by the Bishop, and this appeared to be a very moving experience in each of their lives. And, of course, as missionaries, we could not offer them the communion. But when the Bishop came this was something that they were quite eager for, to receive the communion from him, and they seemed to be very eager and enthusiastic.

In 1934, they still had their Russian graves in the graveyard and as we moved about in their graveyard, and as we moved about in their homes we would find the icons and the religious artifacts in their homes, and used. I can remember my first introduction to this when one of the people had a very sore leg - the knee was sore, and what they did, they took a crucifix that they had received from the old orthodox people down in Juneau, poured water into it until the water came up to the knee of the corpus, and then they would drink that water because that was good medicine. They always had their beads, with a crucifix

on the end, and when any serious thing happened to them they would wrap the beads around the affected part and put the crucifix against it. This was normal; I never thought anything of it, and in a sense I encouraged it.

Their primitive Indian beliefs were intermingled with their Christian beliefs, of course. The old folks would get together for sing-songs, and if there were somebody sick, they would take my medicines - yes, but they would also go off and sing their own little chants, and they would do their own little things. A shaman - yes. Old Fox was a shaman, and old Jackson was a shaman, and we never had any problem because they were doing it their way, I did it mine, and we worked together. I was taught many things with regard to herbs and various concoctions by these old fellows. While they took my medicine, I didn't take theirs, but I respected them when they were giving these medicines to some of the old folks. And I used to stand and watch them as they would make their incantations over a little baby, for instance, or someone with a very severe stomach ache. And they had their rattles and they would put on their fancy regalia and do these things. But we accepted this as part of their life just as they accepted church as part of our life.

You asked about the water witches?

I never ran into water witches in the Yukon at all. I learned about the Otter people and the water witches from reading the stories of the people in Juneau, but I never heard of them with regard to our people in Teslin.

With regard to the Tahltan people in Telegraph creek, we had many Tahltan dogs - Telegraph Creek dogs, little bear dogs; every family had one and they were quite proud to have one because they went with the women on their hunts, especially when they were hunting berries or at their fish camps. They were always on the watch, as it were, for bears. Not only did the people of Teslin have these dogs, but they traded these dogs - Tahltan dog - as far north as Dawson City. And at Teslin, Carmacks, and all the way places along the river each family had at least one of these little dogs. They were delightful little things, and they were recognized as Tahltan dogs.

Now, with regard to them considered as enemies. When the army came in they hired some of our Teslin people as guides to lead them south towards B.C., then it came up. They got as far as the mountains going into the rivers heading towards the Peace River, and our folk didn't want to go over those mountains because that was the other people's country and I can remember the army surveyors being quite perturbed about this. "They wouldn't go there," they said. "They were afraid."

So that's about as much as I know as far as the differences between peoples.

Relationships with the people in Juneau were always good. Old Frank Sidney had been educated at the Presbyterian School in Sitka, and he enthusiastically spoke of the old days, but there were the two groups in Teslin. There were the B.C. Indians, who lived at the foot of Teslin Lake and there were the Yukon Indians, and they were really two groups of people, so that our people who were specifically Yukoners were always in a sense slightly at variance with the people from B.C. And the people from B.C. were sort of upper-crust, as it were, because they had direct contact with the people on the coast. They used to tell the story, I think it was about Old Fox, who had made a trip down to Juneau and had purchased a rifle, with shells. This was an automatic ejecting rifle, and on his way back he had to show off his new rifle with its ejecting system to the people as he came home. And by the time he got back to Teslin he was out of ammunition. None of our people had ever been out to Edmonton. George Johnston did get out to Vancouver at one time, and they always jossed him about making his blaze marks on the telephone poles. But Edmonton was foreign territory to any of our people in Teslin.

I am going to your former letter when you ask several questions.

"Could you describe the seasonal life of the Indian people, the things they did, such as subsistence activities, social, recreation activities, and how did the coming of the highway change this life?"

Once again remember that the work we did as a church in Teslin, until just before the coming of the highway was seasonal, was only done during the summer and this was the only time we could get in there. I was lucky enough to go into Teslin in May, in 1934, by flying boat from Carcross. We went in on an Eastman flying boat, and Len Staples was the pilot, Mrs. McCleary coming in from outside, and the three of us flew in together, and we landed on a small patch of water in Nisutlin Bay, and we had to break ice to even get ashore at McCleary's old place. And it wasn't until later in May that the Indians began to arrive because the ice was there. But the seasonal activities of the Indians went around their natural work. About May they would come to town and until the end of August we would have them in the town. They had their ceremonies back and forth, they had their dances. We had church, we had school, we had games, we had always a great time on the first of July.

One day I remember on the first of July we even had snow during our athletic events. We had races on the land, all sorts of contests - a tug of war - and then there was the great boat race out on the lake when way

back in 1934 they had their Evinrude engines and their Johnson engines. They were 4-cylinder affairs and they would stand there holding the gasoline can over the engine as they roared down all out. The boats they used were not modern hydroplanes but rather they were the old work horses that they used to go up the river in the fall and down to Teslin in the early summer. These were their work boats and when these things got revved up it was a horrible noise and great shouts of glee as they moved past each other.

The easiest way to describe their seasonal work would be taking off in the fall. Towards the end of August each family, depending on how far they had to go, started off with their jaw bones. Their boats were loaded right up to the gills and off they's go. It would take them sometimes two weeks to get up to their trapping grounds. Those who went up the Nisutlin River especially had to go early because the river dropped quickly and they had to get up beyond the bars so that they could get their winter supplies all settled. Jake Jackson moved down to the foot of Teslin Lake so he was one of the last to leave. And the Johnstown people from B.C. left early September and they went way down to the head of the lake and they established themselves there. During the summer-time the Johnstown group would make at least two trips down to B.C. to see how their garden was going. They used to plant vegetables there before they came to town and they would make their trips down to see how things were going. The village was pretty much deserted until around Christmas time when they would come in with their furs and/or a Christmas celebration. Off they would go again and they would come back sometime around Easter and then they would again get supplies and go off on their beaver and their muskrat things, and then they would come back in May and the whole cycle would start over again.

Because they were away in the wintertime there was really no necessity to have a missionary stationed at Teslin the whole year round. This is what happened then when the highway arrived or just previously to the highway's coming. Evidently the Roman Church had knowledge that this was going to take place because suddenly - to us that is - who had no knowledge of it, Roman priests were set down in isolated spots - Lower Post, Teslin, Burwash Landing. Now this had never happened before. There had been a Roman Church in Whitehorse and there had been a Roman Church at Dawson City, but there had been no prosyletizing as such, going on anywhere else. So that when Father Drean arrived in Teslin and began to put up a building, he enlisted the Indians to help him in his project. He offered them good wages, and as time went on, according to Scuttlebutt, they could get a job if they promised to go to his church. He built a log cabin right in the middle of the so-called

white village just above Taylor and Drury's. It wasn't on the Indian reservation at all, and in fact our Anglican Church was off the Indian reservation. Nobody had bothered about where lines were drawn really because there hadn't been any necessity of finding out where these lines were drawn. Nobody cared. You just lived where you lived. But when Father Drean came in he came in evidently with a plan because lines were drawn, things were laid out, and it was done just off the Indian community. And so those who lived there had to suddenly look to their own property lines. And so Robin McCleary staked his property and he also staked some property where the church was, and this involved a little bit of fussing later on when he tried to sell the land back to the church and that was rather awkward at times.

Unfortunately I don't remember whether that was 1940 or 1941, but I do know that that year I didn't get back to Teslin for quite a while; I had work to do in Fort Selkirk, and it was late, oh - almost June, I suppose, before I got into Teslin and I found that Father Drean had a very flourishing parish going at that time because he had told the people that I wasn't coming back, that he was taking over in my place and that all our people were going to become Roman Catholics. Somehow or other he had a story going that the King and Queen of England had become Roman Catholics and when I showed up on the scene it was rather awkward for the Indians because they had been told one thing and had suddenly discovered that the things they were told were not true. There was also a story circulating among the Indians that Father Drean had told them that Mary, Queen of Heaven, had come to earth and told them that the end of the world was coming and that they would all have to join the Roman Catholic church to be saved. Now you can imagine what this did to a great number of the Indians. Also he'd been there since early spring or even late fall, almost six months, and by handing out largesse, and giving jobs, he really had solidified himself with the people who were there. Our Bishop usually made his visitation in August because that would be the time when we as missionaries would have got the people together and would have been able to present a class to him. But that summer, I guess that was the summer of 1941, the Roman Bishop came in quite early, just after I got there, and brought large boxes of beautiful new materials, and again handed out largesse with a nice little statement that the Anglican people only hand out second hand materials, but we give you brand new stuff. Really, it was a little awkward. Of course, Father Drean was there during that winter, the McCleary's were there and the Taylor and Drury persons, plus the police - that's the only white people that were there, and Father Drean, of course, speaking French and his broken English. And the McCleary girls

needing help with their education, it was arranged that he would teach them French.

Well, naturally, when he would go down there to teach them they became good friends, which was normal. And when Indians came back and found Father Drean on good terms with the McCleary's, who were Irish, you can imagine how they felt about it. Here these people, these newcomers, had been accepted by the people in the community, and they were giving out largesse, therefore it would be quite all right. Evidently what they were told would be another truth. And so they were, in a sense, taken in by what Father Drean had said. As you can see my prejudices are showing. It was awkward with the two churches in the community. This worked very well as far as the Indians were concerned. Our Indian people were always on the lookout for a bargain and I can remember in other parts, when a new store would start up the Indians would all go there to get their jawbone on the new person and forget their debts to the people who were there before.

Taylor and Drury and McCleary used to have this friendly rivalry of giving jawbone to the Indians and hopefully expecting them to bring their furs back to them first. And while you had one group trading with T. and D., and another group trading with McCleary, they would move back and forth depending on how their jawbone was doing. Well, this was quite natural. When the two churches sprang up, one that had been established there for a long time and they knew what they could get from them, and the other that was new and was doing a lot of different things. For instance, if you can recall the difference between the ritual and ceremony of the Roman Church in those days and the Anglican Church you will see that there was a vast difference. I can remember in Teslin I had found in 1934 some old brass candlesticks. I was accustomed to having candles on the altar so I polished them up and I put them on the altar and lit these candles for my services. When the Bishop came that August, he saw the candlesticks and said, "Don't take them down now, but don't put them up next year." It just happened I didn't go back to Teslin next year, so that when I did get back there, somewhere I suppose in 1939 or 1940, I used them again then. But the attitude of the Anglican Church in those days was that you did not do anything that might appear to be Roman Catholic. And most of our Anglican missionaries at that time were in a sense, Church of Ireland men, and there were no outward ceremonies.

When Father Drean went in, of course, he had his daily mass, with his incense and his colorful vestments. How, this was most delightful because the Indians were accustomed to dressing up for their ceremonies and our service appeared very drab in comparison. And Father Drean was a priest, and our people were just missionaries, and the idea of the importance of a priest got through to

them, and so that we didn't appear to be doing what the Romans were doing because they had two priests there where we only had a missionary.

As I have been dictating this tape to you and reading your questions, a lot of hindsight is in here. The questions you are asking are question which have been built up, on a study of ethnic conditions, and really working at it. When we were up there we never thought of it in these terms. We were not studying the people; we were trying to do a job. It was a thrill for us, we were young fellows, we were on our own, we were given a job to do: to teach, and while we were teaching, we had to learn to teach. So that we weren't thinking in terms of the questions which you are asking me at the moment.

One of the difficulties of these young fellows going up, was that they were going up really without any teaching experience; they were either theological students who were between their second and third years in theology, or they were young fellows who had had a few years of University training, but no teaching experience whatsoever. In all my time up there I never remember any one who came up with teacher certificates, and the disadvantage we had in teaching people when we didn't have the methodology to do it was fantastic. We also were thrown on our own. When we got to the mission station we opened up the old boxes and in the boxes we found writing paper, exercise books, arithmetic books, reading books, spelling books and what-not. We had the little clay tablets and we would drop those into water and we would get ink. We had the blackboard, of course, it wasn't very big, but we had to sort of make up our own equipment as we moved along. By experience you found out which groups you would teach at what time, how long you could carry on a certain teaching method, how often you had to change your classes. This was all done by rule of thumb. We had no experience, or no teaching as to what to do, or how to do it. If you could only pick out a tune with one finger, again you were lucky. If you had to rely on someone else telling you how to sing a tune, you were completely at sea.

Living conditions of course dictated that you cook your own food, clean your own house, catch your own fish, and go out and hunt your own meat. This, of course, you did, if you were sensible, with one of the Indians or with a policeman. And I got along very nicely be eating fish when I would help one of the Indians run his net. I, really, myself, never got out on a hunting expedition, because I was so busy all week long. Monday through Friday I was teaching school, Saturday I was cleaning house and baking, and Sunday, of course, I was doing church work. So that, in one way, I was supplied by meat by the Indians for my services to them, but fishing

yes, I would help run the net to get a fish, I would borrow a boat if I wanted to take a small ride myself. Quite often on an afternoon some of the older Indian boys would want to go fishing and I would go along with them and we would explore the old graves which were on the rock sites on the far side of the lake. But normally we were kept busy all the time. With a full day of teaching, naturally there was quite a bit of time taken up in preparation, as to what you were going to do the next day; and because there were the many classes it really kept me scratching to figure out what I was going to do, so that I kept an exercise book with a running account of what was done each day. Of course that book has long since disappeared.

Thinking in terms of what might have been done, we just did not have the money to do it. I did not go back in 1935 because there was no money to send anybody up in 1935, and we were living sort of a hand-to-mouth existence. I think we fellows who went up there got \$250 plus our food and transportation and this was not very much, of course, but at least it was all that could be given and that on the meagre amount of money that was available, I think that we didn't waste it, but that we did a great deal for that amount of money. But had there been people, had there been money, had there been equipment, - this might have made a great deal of difference. And had we been established enough to continue the work all year round, that might have made a difference.

When things were seasonal, at that time they only needed seasonal help, and so the church gave them seasonal help, trying to fit in with their needs. It wasn't sufficient, we knew about it, but it was all we could do.

APPENDIX C

Brief Report on Field Work for Thesis
Education. (Aug. - Sept. 1967)

E.L. Bullen.

1. Visited Indian Affairs office in Ottawa. Saw various people in the Education Division and Department of Northern Affairs library. Facilities for research and access to archival material generously offered for any future trips to Ottawa.
2. Visited Dr. Catharine McClellan, the anthropologist who is the outstanding authority on the Indian peoples of the Southern Yukon, in Madison, Wisconsin. Dr. McClellan was extremely helpful with advice, written material, and introductions to a number of Teslin people.
3. To Whitehorse for interviews regarding Indian education with:
 - Mr. Alan Fry, Superintendent for Indian Affairs in the Yukon.
 - Mr. John Froese, Deputy Superintendent of Schools.
 - Mr. Charlie Taylor, Manager of Taylor and Drury Department Store. (Mr. Taylor worked at his company's trading post in Teslin in 1918).
 - The Very Rev. Henry H. Marsh, Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of Yukon.
 - Mr. James Smith, Commissioner of the Yukon Territory.
 - Mr. Jack Fingland, Assistant Commissioner of the Yukon Territory.
 - Mr. Warren Rongve, Director of Elementary Instruction for the Department of Education.
 - Mrs. J. Whyard, Editor of the Whitehorse Star newspaper.
 - Mrs. Florence MacDonald, Librarian of the Yukon Regional Library.
 - Dr. Shields, newly-appointed Superintendent of Schools.

4. To Teslin. Interviews with the following people were held:
 - Fr. Pleine, Roman Catholic priest.
 - Rev. David Kalles, Anglican priest.
 - Mr. R. Puhlmann, Principal of the Teslin Public School.
 - Mrs. Harlin, proprietor of the Nisutlin Bay Lodge, and a resident of Teslin, 1923 - 56, 1966 - 7.
 - Mr. George Johnstone, native.
 - Mr. and Mrs. Frank Johnstone, natives.
 - Mr. Tommy Peters, native.
 - Mrs. Daisy Sheldon, native.
 - Mr. David Johnson (hereditary 'chief')
 - Mr. Bobby Jackson, native.
 - Mr. Moses Jackson, native.
 - Mr. Bonner Coolie (school caretaker)
 - Mrs. Bonner Coolie, native.
 - Mr. Johnnie Johnson (trapper and fur buyer)
 - Mrs. Johnnie Johnson, native.
 - Elizabeth Martychuk, native.
 - Mrs. (Virginia) Smarch, native.
 - Mrs. Frank Bailey, native.
 - Mr. Freddie Johnstone, native.
 - Fr. Studer, Roman Catholic priest in charge of Yukon Seperate Schools under Bishop Mulvihill.
5. To Carcross, for interview with Mr. Michael Gibbs, Principal of the Chooutla Indian Residential School (Anglican).
6. To Whitehorse, to gather documents relating to education in the Yukon.
 - Sessional papers of the Territorial Council
 - Excerpts from old copies of the Whitehorse Star
 - Copies of the Separate School Agreement, and Joint Agreement on Indian Education (Indian Affairs and Territorial Government)
 - Xeroxing of Teslin genealogies
 - Anglican Church Yukon history, in manuscript.
 - R.C. Church documents.
7. To R.C. Indian Residential School at Lower Post, B.C., interviews with Fr. Morrisett (Principal) and Fr. Cannon.
8. To Vanderhoof, B.C., for interview with Mr. William Grant, former Indian Agent for the Yukon.

9. To Powell River, B.C. for interviews with:
Mr. Harry Thompson, former Superintendent
of Schools for the Yukon.
Mr. John Barton, former Yukon Education
Counsellor for Indian Affairs, and former
Assistant Superintendent of Schools for
the Yukon.
10. To Vernon, B.C. for interview with Mr. Jack Hulland,
Superintendent of Schools for the Yukon, 1933-
54.

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